





ITALIAN MASTERS IN GERMAN
GALLERIES.

ITALIAN MASTERS

IN

GERMAN GALLERIES.

A CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE ITALIAN PICTURES

IN THE GALLERIES OF

MUNICH—DRESDEN—BERLIN,

BY

GIOVANNI MORELLI,

MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN SENATE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

MRS. LOUISE M. RICHTER.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS,
YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1883.

CHISWICK PRESS :—C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO. TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

THE GETTY CENTER



PREFACE.

THE most important work on Italian painting, as regards both contents and compass, is incontestably "A New History of Painting in Italy, in three volumes, London, 1866," with the continuations, "A History of Painting in North Italy (1871), in two volumes, by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle," and "Tiziano, la sua vita ed i suoi tempi, di G. B. Cavalcaselle e J. A. Crowe, in two volumes, 1877."

These seven volumes are known throughout civilized Europe, and are the foundation of all study of Italian painting in England, Germany, and France. This work contains the results of the latest researches by specialists, and is compiled with the greatest industry and a most praiseworthy knowledge of existing records. It has, moreover, the advantage over other histories of Italian art, that it is the work not of one man alone, which is sure to make a book on art one-sided, but of two men of equal capacity, one belonging to the Teutonic race, the other to the Latin. The judgments and opinions laid down in the work have by that means acquired a solidity

which puts all national prejudice out of the question. We need not wonder, therefore, that it has everywhere the highest reputation, nay, that the opinion of these celebrated authors on Italian works of art is universally considered decisive and final. But whilst I join in fully recognizing the merits of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's labours, these could not prevent me from being in not a few instances of a different opinion; and to maintain and prove these adverse opinions, is one of the principal aims of the present Critical Studies. The reason of such different opinions lies essentially in my method of study, which deviates from that of the distinguished critics I have named. My views and my judgment on the different painters are based solely on the study of their works, and not only of one work, or of a few, but of all that I could possibly examine. Again, apart from historical data, there is not much that I have gleaned from books, having come very early to the conclusion that there is but little to be learnt from books on art,—nay, that most of them blunt and paralyze our taste for a true living knowledge of art, rather than quicken and refine it. This repugnance to a bookish study of art is probably the reason why my researches sometimes lead to other conclusions than those of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. But I am far from thinking my own judgment infallible, nor do I wish at all to detract from the well-earned fame of the two celebrated critics. If I place our several opinions, on one and the same subject, side by side, it is because I do not put absolute faith in my own knowledge, and would gladly submit the controversy to the close examination of professionals and connoisseurs.

May I also express the hope that the famous authors of the "New History of Painting in Italy," should these

modest lucubrations meet their eye, will not blame me for not always sharing their opinion, but will grant me the same freedom in the republic of thought which I do not grudge to them, or to any fellow-workers? To bickering and strife I am a declared enemy. Life is too short and time too precious to waste on the weary polemics daily waged by art-critics. Whoever is not opposed to my experimental method, but sees in it a way to get out of dreary diletantism, and attain to a real Science of Art, let him take up the cross and follow me. Whoever, on the contrary, finds my method too materialistic and unworthy of a lofty mind, let him leave the heavy ballast of my work untouched, and soar to higher spheres in the balloon of fancy. He is sure to have the applause of the gaping multitude.

GIOVANNI MORELLI.

MILAN, 20th July, 1877.





TABLE OF CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| MUNICH :— | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| The Venetians | 8 |
| The Ferrarese and Bolognese | 55 |
| The Lombards | 59 |
| The Tuscans | 70 |
| The Umbrians | 76 |
| Drawings by Italian Masters | 86 |
| DRESDEN :— | |
| Introduction | 100 |
| The Ferrarese | 101 |
| The Venetians | 137 |
| The Lombards | 198 |
| The Tuscans | 200 |
| The Romans | 210 |
| Drawings by Italian Masters | 213 |
| BERLIN :— | |
| Introduction | 227 |
| The Ferrarese and Bolognese | 232 |
| The Umbrians | 252 |
| The Florentines | 339 |
| The Venetians | 355 |
| The Paduans | 390 |
| The Brescians | 396 |
| The Bergamese | 408 |
| The Lombards | 409 |
| INDEX | 445 |



I. MUNICH.

THE Munich Gallery has been the subject, as I am aware, of a careful critical notice from the pen of my late friend, Otto Mündler. In order, however, to avoid all influence from the judgment of another, I have purposely refrained from reading it—and the more so from the high esteem for Mündler's rich knowledge and discriminating eye which I entertain. His well-known work, "*Essai d'une analyse critique de la Notice des tableaux Italiens du Musée National du Louvre*," 1850, is in many respects a model of art-criticism; and, I have no doubt, even the foremost art-critics of our time, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, would admit that they have found in that little volume many hints for their own guidance. Mündler possessed the genuine artist-nature, sensitive, ingenuous, susceptible to all that is beautiful, and capable of the highest and purest enthusiasm. It was this enthusiasm, indeed, which too often played him a shabby trick, of which I could easily furnish instances. In his day no one was more intimately acquainted with Italian art or better able to appreciate it. How comes it, then, that one so highly gifted and so indefatigable in study should not

have avoided numerous and grave mistakes? In my opinion these are traceable to the fact that while Mündler relied solely on his fine memory and marvellous gift of intuition, he followed no regular method in his researches; and without method, the most experienced connoisseur will ever waver in his judgment, and never be quite sure of his facts. And this method, as I take it, can only be of that experimental kind which from the time of Leonardo da Vinci and Galileo, to that of Volta and Darwin, has led to such glorious discoveries. By far the greater number of pictures which have descended to us from the best periods have been subjected to barbarous restorations,¹ so that instead of beholding the physiognomy of a master in his work, the connoisseur sees only the black mask with which the restorer has covered it, or, at best a skinned and utterly disfigured surface. In such a ruin there is no possibility of recognising the hand of the master, or of distinguishing an original from a copy. Only a close observation of the forms peculiar to a master in his representation of the human figure, can lead to any adequate results. This remark applies, of course, only to those genuine artists, who, in their manner of conception and expression, have a style of their own; and not to those imitators who, in the history of Art, as in that of Science, only figure as mere nonentities. Insignificant as they are, they can only attract minds of a kindred sort, and those at most for certain technical merits. As my multiplied studies have convinced me that this experimental method may be of use, if I do not deceive myself, to young

¹ In the last century they generally contented themselves with painting a picture over; of late they have taken to effacing it first, which is still worse, especially in Venetian pictures of the sixteenth century.

students, I shall, as opportunity offers, give further instances of my meaning. But I must remark beforehand, that it is no such easy matter as might be thought to discern the forms peculiar to a master; and that just as the acquisition of a foreign language demands time and toil, so the eye requires long, very long practice, to learn to see correctly.

I will begin with the Venetians. And by the Venetian School I do not only mean that belonging to Venice itself, but, as generally acknowledged, all the schools in those portions of Upper Italy which once belonged to the Republic, and which, while showing more or less the influence of the City of Waters, did not forfeit their respective local characteristics. This provincial character, this peculiar physiognomy, the offspring of *difference of race*, stronger in one province and weaker in another, is not a thing to be studied and learned in picture galleries, chiefly brought together on the most eclectic principles. No, it must be sought on the very soil whence it grew, and with which it stands in the closest organic connexion; for nowhere in the world has painting been so spontaneously the language of a people as in Italy.

The literature of the Italians, from various causes, needless here to specify, never developed itself into a popular form; art, on the contrary, meeting no obstruction, was the genuine outcome of the people. It sprang up from the soil, a living growth, speaking everywhere the native language, the local dialect. And this relation between audible and visible speech, between the spoken and the painted or modelled tongue—or, to speak more plainly, between the two forms in which the same spirit expresses itself, viz., the language of words, and that of art—this relation, I say, between the two modes of

expression proceeds from no *external* coincidences, but from what we may term *causative Nature*.

Now, in the Venetian provinces this vernacular art-language was never diverted into other channels, nor forced to receive a foreign impress, as elsewhere, by Spanish domination; its organic development can therefore be traced continuously from the thirteenth century down to Tiepolo, Canaletto, and Longhi; that is to say, from its germ to its final extinction. For, of course, Canova and David, Carstens and Cornelius, did not really (as is commonly believed, and as Kaulbach has represented on the side wall of the new picture gallery at Munich) deal the death-blow to the art of the Pigtail Period: it died a *natural death*, and was therefore dead long before the above-named gentlemen founded the so-called New Art. But, as I have said, this provincial dialect of art can only be studied in the country where it originated: in remote village churches, in fresco paintings, on the fronts of mansions, or on the interior walls of farmhouses, &c. Whoever visits Bergamo, for instance, and the splendid valleys of the Serio and the Brembo, will still find there many a painting of the school of the Boselli, the Gavazzi, the Scipioni of Averara; he will still come upon many a work that dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, and recognise in its figures and action the same character which he finds expressed in the figures and gestures of the people in the street, nay, in their very idiom; namely, the character of a simple, sturdy, energetic *mountain folk* who do not always know how to unite refinement and grace with their inbred strength and vigour. And the same fundamental features, though somewhat subdued and disguised, he will again recognise in the works of those Bergamese painters and sculptors who,

when still young, were sent up from their native valleys to the capital, Venice, to finish their artistic education, such as Palma Vecchio, Previtali, Cariani, the two Santa Croce, and others.

What has just been said will apply equally to the development of all the art-schools in Italy, except that in the schools of the less gifted races one meets with here and there a gap, especially in the period of transition from the *heroic art-epoch*, *i.e.*, the Giottesque, to the *scientific*, *i.e.*, the epoch in which the study of linear-perspective and realistic nature first occurs. The Florentine school in this, as well as other respects, is the most perfectly developed, and takes precedence of all other schools in the world; next to it comes, perhaps, the Veronese. Still, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle justly remark, the Venetian school of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, as regards their *painting*, never got much beyond a lisp, and only arrived at articulate speech in Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello—not, as some German writers will have it, in the much overrated Joannes Alemannus; we must not forget that in that very period the artists at Venice were expressing themselves at the same time strikingly and beautifully in *stone*, in architectural and sculptural works. I need only mention the names of Filippo Calendario, the brothers delle Massegne, and of the master Bartolommeo,¹ to draw attention to this important fact in the development of the language of art; for, to be just to a particular school of art, we must not dwell exclusively on one form of its manifestation, namely, painting. At a later stage of development, towards the end of the fifteenth century, when

¹ Compare the sculptures on the Doge Palace of the middle of the fifteenth century, in S. Marco, the Frari, S. Giovanni e Paolo, Abazia, &c.

pictorial art reached its prime in the Vivarini and the Bellini, we, on the contrary, see sculpture outstripped and taken in tow by painting, as it were, not confined to Venice, but which went on *pari passu* through the whole of Northern Italy. Whilst, for instance, in the works of the Lombardi, and even of Alessandro Leopardi, we recognise now the Vivarini, now Giovanni Bellini; so in the figures of the eminent sculptor, Antonio Riccio of Verona, we detect the inspiration of that Veronese school of painting which produced Riccio's fellow-townsmen, the painter Liberale (*e.g.*, the "Adam and Eve" in the cortile of the Doge's Palace at Venice), also the statues on the altars of the churches at Verona; so in many a sculpture of Alfonso Lombardi¹ we discern the spirit of Dosso Dossi, &c.

In the Milanese country alone sculpture was not only not thrown into the shade by painting, but even influenced it in many respects, to which result the numerous sculptures on and in the Certosa of Pavia and on the cathedral of Milan may have contributed their share.²

¹ For instance, in those busts in the façade of the Palazzo Bolognini at Bologna.

² Andrea Solario in the modelling of his heads surpasses all contemporaries; see, for instance, his "Ecce Homo" in the Poldi-Pezzuoli Collection at Milan; an excellence for which he has probably to thank his brother Cristoforo, the sculptor. A portrait in bas-relief by Cristoforo Solario il Gobbo, in the Trivulzio Museum at Milan, gives quite the impression of a likeness painted by Andrea. I felt sure I could distinctly trace the influence of the sculptor Amadeo on the painter Bramantino, in an "Adoration of Christ," or "Natività," in the picture gallery of the Ambrosiana. Pictures by Bramantino are to be found in the Milanese towns, at Pavia and Milan, Brera Gallery, Museo Archeologico, in the convent of St. Maria delle Grazie, over the portal of S. Sepolcro, and elsewhere. Pictures by Foppa are in the town gallery of Bergamo; at Savona; two at the Brera Gallery (Nos. 69 and 466-471),

If, therefore, we seek to study the history of a people's art, we must devote the same attention to all three forms of its manifestation—painting, sculpture, and architecture. Above all, I recommend to students the study of drawings by great masters ; their painted works have come down to us in most cases so disfigured by the tooth of time or the paw of the restorer, that very often we can no longer recognise in them the hand and mind of the artist. In their drawings, on the contrary, the whole man stands before us without disguise or affectation, and his genius with its beauties and its failings speaks directly to the mind.

But the study of drawings is not only indispensable to our knowledge of the different masters ; it also serves to impress more sharply on our minds the distinguishing characteristics of the several schools. Much more clearly than in paintings we recognise in drawings the family features, both intellectual and material, of the different masters and schools ; for instance, their manner of arranging drapery, the way they indicate light and shadow, the preference they give to pen and ink, or to black or red chalk, &c.

I have therefore thought it advisable here and there to point out particularly characteristic drawings by old masters, and to recommend the acquisition of the respective photographs of them to those students who feel inclined to take up the studies which I have gone through. They can thus, in a cheap way, procure the most valuable aids to a serious study of art. This, of course, presupposes some acquaintance with fully executed works of the respective

falsely ascribed to Zenale ; in the Museo Archeologico ; at the Collection Poldi-Pezzoli. The fresco, No. 69, represents the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian.

masters, whether in painting or in sculpture; a mere beginner would be simply bewildered by drawings. But the pleasure such a study affords to the practised eye I reckon among the purest that are allotted to man on earth.

THE VENETIANS.

If we look into Dr. Marggraff's new Catalogue, published in 1872, to see if the early masters of schools are well represented in the rooms of this gallery, we are struck especially with two names, belonging to men who during the fifteenth century were the chief representatives, one of the Venetian, the other of the Paduan school of painting, namely, Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna. These are great masters, full of character, and one would think their physiognomy was clearly stamped on the memory of every connoisseur. Shall we then, without more ado, pin our faith to the Catalogue? Hardly, for Dr. Marggraff himself says in his preface, that human opinions are not infallible. The mind, like the body, has its habitudes, and clings even more to frauds and falsehoods which have been handed down to it than to the truth. Old Leonardo da Vinci was quite right when he said, "*Il massimo inganno degli omini è nelle loro opinioni.*" I therefore advise all younger students who really wish to profit by picture galleries, to examine the exhibited paintings without prejudice, and uninfluenced by the opinions of others. In doing so, they will doubtless fall into many a blunder; but, after all, man is apt to err, and it is only by falling that one learns to stand. The greatest connoisseurs and critics, as Rumohr, Otto Mündler, and also Crowe and .

Cavalcaselle and others have acted on this plan, and that is the reason why their opinions do not always agree with each other, nor, as we shall see, with those of Dr. Marggraff. I hope, therefore, that I shall not be blamed if I do not always accept their opinions, nor that of the Doctor, provided I point out in each case the reasons which induce me to differ from them. And such reasons must not only be æsthetic and subjective ones, depending on individual taste and humour; they must be based on tangible facts perceptible to every observing eye.

The little picture here imputed to GIAMBELLINI is in Room 7, and bears the number 489 (formerly 1196). It represents, says Dr. Marggraff in his Catalogue, the bust of the artist painted on panel. The portrait exhibits a man of about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, and would consequently have been executed in the year 1456, if painted from life. Giovanni Bellini, the younger son of Jacopo, was born in 1426; he must therefore have painted his own portrait at the age of thirty, about the same time when he painted the "Pietà" in the municipal palace of Rimini, and the Madonna picture (No. 372) in the Academy of Venice. On examining the manner and style of this painting, we find that it points to a much later time. Totally different from this portrait are the portraits of Giambellini which Vasari and Carlo Ridolfi prefixed to their biographies of the master, and which are quite in conformity with those in the collection of portraits in the Uffizi at Florence.¹ Be

¹ The portrait of Giambellini, at Florence, No. 354, is signed IOANNES BELINVS. To judge from the cotton-like clouds peculiar to Niccolò Rondinello, this portrait seems to me to be by the latter artist. It is well known that Niccolò Rondinello signed many of his own pictures with his master's name, *e.g.*, one in the Doria Gallery at Rome; and probably also the Madonna picture with SS. Peter and

that as it may, this picture, with its green ground (Bellini's ground is always black), is in no case by the Venetian old master, nor by any master at all, but by a professional dabbler; it is far too tame even to be a work of the dull Mansueti.¹ The name of Giambellini is a sacred name in art-history, and really ought not to be so flagrantly abused.

Sebastian (No. 61 in the Louvre Gallery), signed Joannes Bellinus. The type of St. Sebastian is peculiar to Rondinello, the perpendicular folds in the dress of the Virgin, with the broad gold border, are also very characteristic of the master. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. i. p. 183) consider the portrait at the Uffizi Gallery to be Giambellini's portrait of himself, and place it between the years 1480 and 1487. The best portrait of Giambellini is unquestionably the one contained in the large picture by Gentile Bellini—"St. Mark preaching to the people of Alexandria," No. 164 in the Brera Gallery at Milan. We here see both the brothers Bellini among the audience: Gentile in the gold brocade dress; opposite him, Giovanni, with the golden chain of a knight, seen in profile. This picture was painted about the year 1505; Giovanni was then about eighty years of age. This distinguished-looking head in profile is quite in conformity with the small head seen in profile (pen and ink, sepia and chalk), which the Duke d'Aumale possesses among his rich collection of drawings (photographed by Braun, No. 187, Beaux Arts). To judge from Braun's photograph, the original drawing seems to have been retouched in several places; the signature is also altered, and seems to be as follows:—"Io. bellinum Victor discipulus p. 1505." I am unable to say whether this drawing is by Vittore Camelo, who executed a medal of Giovanni Bellini in 1508, or whether it belongs to the painter and scholar of Giambellini, Vittore di Matteo.

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assign this portrait to Gentile Bellini (vol. i. p. 135). I ask my young friends just to examine the good, although injured, portrait of Catarina Cornaro in the National Gallery at Pesth—the only authentic painting by Gentile Bellini known to me between the Rhine and the Danube—and I shall be surprised if they recognise the same author in the two pictures. The British Museum possesses two fine and genuine drawings, very characteristic of Gentile Bellini, photographed by Braun, Nos. 143, 144. The portrait of St. Peter Martyr, No. 808, in the National Gallery, is by Gentile Bellini,

And where is MANTEGNA's picture? The mere name of this great master kept me on tenter-hooks when I entered the gallery. The small work hangs in Room 9, number 549 (now 586). When I first saw the picture, I was really taken aback. "Too bad!" I cried, in my indignation: "is Professor Marggraff not satisfied with insulting Giambellino, but he must also degrade and disgrace his brother-in-law, the great Andrea Mantegna? His wrath would appear to be aimed at the whole Bellini kindred: not very christian of him!" And Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, what do they say of this so-called Mantegna of the Munich Gallery? "The style is a mixture of that of Galasso and that of Tura, and recalls that of the foregoing examples. We may therefore (?) class this piece under the name of Bono (of Ferrara)."—*History*, vol. i. p. 376. So that they consider this picture to be a work of the Ferrara-Verona school, for Vittore Pisano, the master of Bono, was a Veronese, and Bono himself a Ferrarese.¹ Here again I am sorry not to be able to share the opinion of the celebrated historiographers. To me the picture seems entirely of Veronese origin; and it strikes me, moreover, that the wooden eyelids, the architectural form of the throne (a niche) in which Mary is seated, the floor, laid with black and white slabs of marble, &c.,

and not by Giovanni Bellini, as stated in the Catalogue. The latter artist drew the ear of a different shape than did his brother Gentile.

¹ I know only two authentic works by this clumsy and inferior master, namely, the fresco of St. Christopher, in the Eremitani chapel at Padua, and the small "St. Jerome" at the National Gallery of London, No. 771. The landscape in this small picture recalls the landscapes which Gentile da Fabriano represented in the background of his pictures. But the landscape in Bono's fresco reminds one more of Pisanello's manner in his fresco in St. Anastasia at Verona, "St. George and the Dragon."

?
 characterize sufficiently the style of the school of Girolamo and Francesco Benaglio. Whether the M over the A on the left pilaster of the throne signifies Maria, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle think, and not Andrea Mantegna, is to me quite immaterial. This much is certain, that Mantegna never drew in this style, and he never signed his name in this way. His usual signature was Andreas Mantinea C.P. (Civis Patavinus). Besides, above these two mysterious letters we find two others, an S and a V, and in the V, moreover, an E, thus: S V̄. This S. Veronensis may therefore have been a scholar of Girolamo, and a fellow-pupil of Francesco Benaglio, the imitator and copyist of Mantegna.¹ In no case, however, does this paltry little picture belong to Bono of Ferrara, much less to the great Mantegna. It is the work of some Veronese of the last three decades of the fifteenth century, who stood in close connexion with Francesco Benaglio.

After the sorrowful experience of the so-called works of Giovauni Bellini and Mantegna, we must be the more cautious in examining the pictures enumerated in the catalogue as Jacopo Palma, Lorenzo Lotto, Giorgione, and Titian.

To GIORGIONE, a myth to the public generally, and all but unknown even to so-called connoisseurs, Dr. Marggraff ascribes only two pictures: a modesty highly laudable in a gallery catalogue. Both of them hang in Room 7, under the numbers 470 and 582. The first of these repre-

¹ See his signed picture in the church of S. Bernardino at Verona—a modified copy of the picture by Mantegna at S. Zeno. By Girolamo Benaglio are several pictures in the Municipal Gallery of Verona, as also some single figures of saints, which might belong to our S. Veronensis.

sents, according to Dr. Marggraff, the "Vanity of this world," and was formerly ascribed to Titian, also by some connoisseurs to Palma Vecchio. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. ii. p. 150) are undecided whether it be by Giorgione; and even if it is, they think it is painted "in the spirit of Pordenone." Later on, however (vol. ii. p. 287), they attribute the picture to this latter master, and thereupon remark, that a "Sibilla," painted in the same manner, was in 1632 exhibited in the Canonici collection at Ferrara, as a work of Pordenone, but was designated "Prudenza." First, then, it appeared to them a work of Giorgione's, painted in the spirit of Pordenone, and afterwards they thought it a work of Pordenone's painted in the spirit of Giorgione. But on this fine picture I will enlarge further on.

Professor Marggraff makes PALMA VECCHIO form himself on Giovanni Bellini, and afterwards on Giorgione and Titian. This opinion, which, by-the-bye, has hitherto been the prevailing one, is stoutly contested by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. According to them, Palma holds almost the first place as pioneer of the Venetian school in the first half of the sixteenth century. They tell us, there was no considerable town in the Po valley, from the snowy Alps of Piedmont to the Gulf of Trieste, that escaped the influence of Palma's art. They assure us, further, that Pellegrino da S. Daniele, Pordenone, Morto da Feltre, and many other famous masters of those times, borrowed their style for the most part from Palma; they assume, therefore, that this great painter must have been born before 1480, that he was consequently several years older than Titian, Pordenone, and Sebastian del Piombo, and of about the same generation as Pellegrino and Giorgione. On all these grounds they confer upon him the honour of having, with Titian

and Giorgione, modernized and regenerated Venetian art.¹

This question, as every student will at once perceive, is not without importance to the history of Venetian art. I hope, therefore, to be allowed to dwell upon it at some length, so as to clear up the point according to my lights. The earlier writers, such as Vasari and Carlo Ridolfi, who have left us accounts of Palma, mention him as younger than Titian and Giorgione; and Vasari's Venetian informant, who reported to him on Palma and Lotto, twelve years after Palma's death, makes him die when forty-eight years old. Such was the talk among the painters then at Venice. And why should we doubt the statement? Have we any positive reasons that prove the contrary? None whatever! We shall see further on, in the biography of Antonello da Messina, that Vasari was much more correct in those reports on the ages of artists which were communicated to him (generally by unprejudiced and impartial men), than in the data he sometimes drew from his own imagination to make his narrative interesting. Now, a few years ago, Palma's will was discovered, and the year of his death. According to this document, he died in 1528; and if, as Vasari was informed from Venice, he died at the age of forty-eight, he must have been born in 1480; though whether at Venice or at Serinalta, cannot be decided.

The following is the original text of Palma's will:²—

*“ Testamentum magistri Jacobi Palma pictoris de confinio
Sancti Bassi.*

¹ See vol. ii. p. 456.

² Published March, 1866. Venezia, Antonelli Edit. Raccolta Veneta, dispensa 2^a, Tom. I., Serie I^a.

“Die XXVIII IULIJ MDXXVIII.

“Die 28 mensis Julij 1528 Indictione prima Rivoalti. Cum vite sue terminum, etc. Quapropter ego Jacobus Palma pictor qm. ser Antonij de confinio Sancti Bassi, sanus Dei gratia mente et intellectu, licet corpore pergravatus, timens hujus seculi pericula, ad me vocare feci presbyterum Aloysium Natalem plebanum, etc. ... ut hoc meum scriberet testamentum.

“In primis namque animam meam Altissimo commendans, instituo et esse volo meos fidei commissarios et hujus mei testamenti exequutores ser Marcum de bajeto, mercatorem vini, ser Joannem frutarolum (fruit-merchant) in confinio sancti Angeli, et ser Fantinum de Girardo tinctorem (all three probably Bergamese settled at Venice) qui omnes concorditer exequantur, etc.

“Item volo quod per meos commissarios dispensetur ducatos viginti quinque inter meos affines et consanguineos magis indigentes, tam in presenti civitate Venetiarum, quam in territorio bergomensi pro anima mea.

“Item volo quod mittatur Assisium ad orandum pro anima mea cum elemosyna consueta. Item dimitto Margaritae nepti meae, filiae quondam ser Bartholomei olim fratris mei, ducatos ducentos pro suo maritare seu monachare. Et ipsa descedente ante suum maritare vel monachare, ipsi ducati ducenti deveniant in meam commissariam. (The residue of his fortune):

“Dimitto et relinquo Antonio, Joanni et Marietae, fratribus, nepotibus meis, filijs prefati quondam ser Bartholomei olim fratris mei, equaliter et equis portionibus inter eos, etc.”

We may conclude from this that Palma Vecchio was not married, and therefore had no legitimate children.

Among the forty pictures which remained uncompleted in his studio, we find a "retrato de messer Francesco Querini," which is probably identical with the unfortunately much repainted portrait of a man exhibited in the Querini Stampalia Collection at Venice. The Querini were patrons of Palma.

Another portrait found half-finished in Palma's studio is described in the inventory as follows:—"Quadro de una donna retrata con fornimenti de nogera, le qual depenture, e scorzade e descolade con maneghe (sleeves) de razo zalo (yellow) de circa bi I." This picture may be the exquisite female portrait, which is to be seen in the same Querini Collection.

We may conclude from the beginning of the will that Palma had been unwell for some years, perhaps from as far back as 1525, consumption being probably his illness. His altarpiece, the "Adoration of the Magi," in the Brera gallery, No. 134, would in that case have been executed for the greater part by a pupil or assistant. Vasari calls him Palma Viniziano, by which it may be supposed that, like his grand-nephew, Palma the younger, he was born in the city of lagoons. Later writers, however, record that he was born at Serinalta, the home of his parents. Be that as it may, Palma is, as a painter, a Venetian, but as an artist, a Bergamese turned Venetian, for, notwithstanding his having studied his art at Venice, he could never entirely lay aside his mountain-nature in his works. Compared with Giorgione and Lotto, or Bonifazio Veronese, his figures are certainly of a more severe and energetic, but also coarser nature, than those of the above-named contemporaries, who were sons of the plain. I do not know of a single work by Palma which is signed or dated, whilst we possess signed

pictures by Lorenzo Lotto of as early as 1500, 1505, and 1506.

"The Angel with the youthful Tobit," in the picture gallery of Stuttgart, said to be by an unknown master, is, I consider, one of the earliest paintings by Palma. This interesting little picture is much disfigured by repainting; in the head of Tobias, which is borrowed from that of the infant Christ in the Madonna picture by Giambellini at the Venetian Academy (No. 313), we recognise the pupil of Giovanni Bellini.¹ Another early work of the master is, "Christ with the Adulteress," seen by Morelli's Anonymus, together with the "Adam and Eve" of the Brunswick Museum, at the house of Francesco Zio, at Venice, in 1512. It is now exhibited under the name of Titian in a very damaged condition at the gallery of the Capitol in Rome.² Also the "Adam and Eve" seems to be one of his early works, painted somewhere about 1508-10.

With the exception of Palma's pupils, Bonifazio Veronese and Cariani, and perhaps also his feeble imitator, Galizzi of Bergamo,³ I am at a loss to see in which of his contemporaries at Vercelli, Milan, Pavia, Lodi, or even Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think they can detect the influence of Palma. I should almost think they were confounding Palma with Giorgione. It was only in his later years that Palma be-

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are of a different opinion, and pronounce this interesting picture to be "a feeble Bergamasque production reminiscent of the Santa Croce."

² Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not mention by so much as a syllable this interesting picture; it seems to me to recall Giambellini even more than Titian.

³ By this very inferior painter there are several signed works in the municipal collection of Bergamo, and one in the house Agliardi at the same town.

came celebrated outside of Venice ; the only commissions he received for altar-pieces—if we except those which he painted in three villages of his native Brembo Valley, viz., Serinalta, Dossena, and Peghera—were from Fontanelle, near Oderzo, Zerman near Treviso, and Vicenza. All these larger altar-pieces betray the hand of a finished master, and belong to the years 1515 to 1525. Lorenzo Lotto, on the contrary, worked in his own Trevisan country as early as 1500 to 1506. In 1506 he got a commission from the Dominican monks of Recanati, and in 1509 he was honoured with the privilege of painting in the rooms of the Vatican. From all this it seems to me very doubtful, to say the least, that Palma could have been older than Lotto and Titian. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle state further, that Pordenone, Pellegrino, and Morto da Feltre borrowed their style from Palma. As for Morto, I give him up, as I know very little about him ; but Pordenone in his younger years, *e.g.*, in his beautiful altar-piece of Sussigana, and in his frescoes at the Palace-chapel of S. Salvatore, betrays very clearly the influence of Giorgione, and more particularly of Titian when still Giorgionizing (whose frescoes at Padua of the year 1510-11 Giovan Antonio seems to have closely studied) ; but of Palma, not even a trace, to my thinking.

With regard to Pellegrino da S. Daniele, I see in his picture at Cividale, of the year 1528, an imitator indeed, but not an original pupil, of Palma ; and we must bear in mind that Count Maniago celebrates this work as Pellegrino's best.

As I have ventured, in opposition to our latest writers, to represent this painter of Friuli as a second-rate artist, I feel bound to support this my opinion by tangible facts. Vasari himself never was at Friuli, so that Pellegrino's works were quite unknown to him ; with regard to them

he had to trust blindly his informant, the painter Giovan Battista Grassi of Udine. This Grassi, as was commonly the case in those days, looked at his countryman through the spectacles of municipal vanity and exclusiveness, making of an ordinary man a giant. He introduced this Martino da Udine to Vasari as a pupil of Giovanni Bellini, adding that the master, astonished at the marvellous progress of his pupil Martino, gave him the surname of Pellegrino, that is, the rare, the extraordinary. But neither Morelli's *Anonymus* nor Carlo Ridolfi in the following century take the slightest notice of this Pellegrino. Then at length came Abate Lanzi, and after him the Friulense Count Maniago, who took up again the fable of Vasari, that is to say, of Grassi. In later times Harzen of Hamburg, and after him Passavant, contributed much to bring Pellegrino again into notice by attributing to him the beautiful engravings signed "PP."

According to my own studies, and after documents kindly communicated by Dr. Joppi of Udine, the biography of this painter would stand pretty much as follows:—Battista, the father of Pellegrino, was a Dalmatian, who in 1468 was already settled at Udine as a painter; in 1470 he was living at the village of S. Daniele, not far from Udine, where he was to have painted in a church. In the year 1487 his son Martino, or Pellegrino, acted as a witness at Udine, from which we may conclude that he must have been born between 1460 and 1470. In 1491 he is called in a public contract, Maestro Martino. By this contract he was commissioned to paint frescoes in the Church of Villanova (near S. Daniele), of which, however, there is nothing now to be seen. In another contract of the year 1494, 5th April, on the picture at Osopo (which is still to be seen), he is called Maestro Martino, dicto Pelle-

grino di Udine. The word pellegrino in Italian means stranger, as well as pilgrim, and the poets call a thing which is uncommonly beautiful and rare, pellegrino.

Whoever contemplates the above-mentioned picture at Osopo will probably never guess that the word pellegrino could be applied to Martino da Udine in the latter sense of the word; he will rather share my opinion that Martino was called Pellegrino because he was looked upon as a stranger at Udine—just as Jacopo de' Barbari was called at Nürnberg, Walch, that is, the stranger. He must, however, have executed this Osopo work several years after the contract, for the composition of it so strongly recalls the picture by Bartolommeo Montagna of the year 1499 (now at the Brera Gallery in Milan), that we may consider it highly probable that Pellegrino used the drawing of Montagna's picture for his own, as we certainly cannot conceive that so great an artist as Bartolommeo Montagna can have borrowed the composition for one of his best works from an artist so much below him, especially as the superior composition of the Osopo picture is in striking contrast with the weak execution.

In the year 1497-98 Pellegrino painted one part of the choir in the Church of S. Antonio at S. Daniele, and married there the same year. In his fresco paintings at the Church of S. Antonio as well as in his picture of Osopo, Pellegrino shows himself a weak and as yet old-fashioned painter, who had probably had no other master than his father Battista.

It is impossible to form any opinion on the altar-piece at the Cathedral of Udine, the "S. Joseph" painted by him in 1501, as it is totally repainted. In the year 1504 he was at Ferrara, and worked for the Duke Alphonso, but seems at the same time to have carried on a trade in

wood; in 1505 and 1506 we find him sometimes at Udine, sometimes at S. Daniele, and it is in that year that he is first called Pellegrino da S. Daniele. In the autumn of 1506 he went again to Ferrara, but returned after some months to Udine, where he stayed the whole of the year 1507. In the autumn months of 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, and 1512 he regularly visited Ferrara, where he worked again for the duke. In 1513 he painted the two allegorical figures, grey in grey, in the Loggia of the town-hall of Udine, which are still partly to be seen there. In the year 1516 he engaged to execute for S. Daniele a painted wooden statue of S. Margaret. In 1519-1520 he painted the organ wings for the Cathedral of Udine, and in this work one recognises for the first time the influence which Giovan Antonio da Pordenone must have exercised on him, especially in the bunchy arrangement of the draperies.

In the years 1519-1521 Pellegrino painted the other part of the choir of S. Antonio at S. Daniele, and in this, his best work, he appears as an imitator, not only of Pordenone, but of Romanino, whose magnificent altar-piece, painted in 1513 for the Church of Santa Giustina at Padua, had most likely been often studied by Pellegrino on his travels from Udine by way of Padua to Ferrara and back. In his colouring he is Romaninesque, in his bunchy foldings Pordenonesque, and in some of his heads he recalls Titian and Palma, whose pictures he must have seen at Oderzo or Zerman, and in the Scuola del Santo at Padua. In the year 1526 Pellegrino goes, apparently for the first time, to Venice, there to buy colours for the large picture which he had engaged to paint for the Church of Cividale, and it is therefore quite natural to suppose that during his stay at Venice he went to see the paintings of Palma,

whose magnificent "Barbara" must have already acquired great celebrity, and that he took that master for his pattern; of which anyone that looks at the picture at Cividale will very soon be convinced.

In the years 1530 and 1531 Pellegrino devoted himself almost exclusively to trading in wood; but we know that in spite of his business he continued to accept commissions for pictures as late as 1546-7. He died in the month of December, 1547, when over eighty years of age.

When Harzen perceived the two P's on the large "Annunciation" of the Venetian Pinacothec, signed: "Pelegrinus faciebat 1519 . . P . . . P . ." he exclaimed with a joyful heart, "Eureka!" and without examining whether the drawing and style of this painted work corresponded with the drawing and style of the two celebrated engravings, likewise signed with two P's, he ascribed them without hesitation to Pellegrino da S. Daniele. Then, as often happens, he was followed blindly by the learned Passavant. But whoever compares, *e.g.*, the wonderful engraving, "Triumph of Selene," with the well-known paintings of Pellegrino, will share my opinion, namely, that the engraving is very likely by an eminent Ferrarese artist, but has nothing whatever to do with the manner of Pellegrino. Originally this engraving was signed with DD, or perhaps bb, and only when the plate was retouched were the DD or bb changed into P's.

That so mediocre a painter as Pellegrino should have attained such high honours in Friuli, need surprise no one who knows the other painters of that little territory. The value of anything in this world is comparative. Those of my young readers who have the time and the will to spend a pleasant week in autumn in that magnificent province, will soon convince themselves that Pelle-

grino's works would necessarily hold a proud position beside the paintings of a Leonardo da S. Daniele, Dom. da Tolmezzo, P. Miani (at Cividale), of an Andrea Bellunello, Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo (Barbeano), Giovanni and Girolamo Martini, of a Luca Monverde, a Seccante, Calderari, Girolamo Grassi, and others. The Friulan race never manifested the same talent for art as, for instance, their neighbours of the Marca di Treviso. The Friuliese are an energetic, shrewd, and intelligent little people, but, like all mountaineers, they are of rough home-spun nature. Giovan Antonio Pordenone was indeed a Friuliese by birth, that is, on the mother's side, but his father was a Brescian (of Corticelle del Lodesano, near Cremona), and he certainly cannot have owed his artistic culture, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle arbitrarily assume, to an insignificant Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, but mainly to his own study of Titian's and Giorgione's works. How Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle could ever think of labelling this dull Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo as the master of Pordenone, is a riddle to me. The wall-painting which they quote in support of their opinion stands in the little village of Barbeano, a place that unfortunately lies so far out of the main road that I cannot advise my readers to edify themselves by a pilgrimage to it.

Another born Friuliese in mind and life is Pellegrino's son-in-law, Sebastiano Florigerio of Conegliano, who died young. He was the son of a certain Giacomo of Bologna, who had settled at Conegliano. Unfortunately, besides the ingenious altar-piece in the Church of S. Giorgio at Udine, we know of only two pictures by Sebastiano Florigerio, and those not important ones, in the Venetian Academy. The Madonna picture (No. 384) with the Saints Augustine and Anne, is there also ascribed to

Florigerio, but already Boschini ("Miniere della Pittura," 1664, p. 468) designated this picture as a work of Benedetto Diana, to whom it in fact belongs. I hope that my patient readers will pardon me for having detained them so long on Pellegrino da S. Daniele. But I was anxious to prove my opinion, which in this case deviates so widely from that of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The local character of the artists of Friuli is a very dry and prosaic one, and as their best masters drew what is best in them from outside, they could have had no influence whatever on the formation of Venetian art.

Vasari does not say who was the master of Palma; Carlo Ridolfi thinks he came to Venice young, and learned a great deal from Titian, namely, "*ch'egli apprese certa dolcezza di colorire che si avvicina alle opere prime dello stesso Tiziano.*"

How is it then that men of the competency of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are led by their own researches to an opinion which is in direct contradiction with Vasari and Ridolfi? Have they any documents to produce in support of their thesis? None. If I guess right, their opinion must be based on an (optical?) illusion.

Mr. Reiset¹ at Paris has a Madonna by Palma Vecchio, the only work of the master, so far as I know, on which we can read not only the name *Jacobus Palma*, but also MD, *i.e.*, the year 1500, as some explain it. Now the style of this picture is not that of a Quattrocentist at all, but of a painter ten years later at least; the picture is, moreover, quite disfigured by repainting. For instance, the form of the ear in the Infant Christ is not the form peculiar to Palma, it has been altered by the restorer;

¹ Mr. Reiset has since sold his whole collection to the Duke d'Aumale.

the same with the Virgin's left hand ; the sky is repainted altogether, the nimbus and beard of S. Jerome are entirely new. And how stands it with the signature, the so-called cartellino ? Are the name and date really authentic, or were they added at some later time ? For the reasons above-mentioned, I must pronounce in favour of the latter.¹ It is of some importance to the history of

¹ The same preconceived notion, that Palma Vecchio influenced Titian, and not Titian Palma Vecchio, has prompted Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to trace the influence of Palma in that charming early work of Titian, No. 236 of the Madrid Museum (vol. ii., 153). This picture, which goes under Giorgione's name, represents Mary with the Infant Christ, to whom S. Bridget is offering flowers. Her husband, S. Ulfus, stands beside her in the armour of a warrior. This fine painting seems to have been executed by Titian about 1510-1512, in those very years when Palma Vecchio was forming his style on the works of the Cadorian. The head of the Madonna in this picture strongly resembles that of the wife declared guilty by her husband in Titian's beautiful fresco at the Scuola del Santo in Padua. A copy of it is in the Hampton Court Gallery under the name of Palma Vecchio (No. 79). For the same reason, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle see Palma's influence in the "Madonna with S. Anthony," No. 633 of the Uffizi Gallery ; in the "Amor sacro e Amor profano" of the Borghese Gallery ; and in that picture of the Antwerp Gallery where the Bishop of Paphos, of the Pesaro kindred, is being presented to S. Peter. And they would assign the "Amor sacro e Amor profano" (which they wittily say they would like to see re-christened "Amor sagio e Amor ingenuo") to the year 1500, and the Antwerp picture to 1503. I confess I am altogether unable to share their opinion. It is true the Borghese painting is an early work of the master, it is thoroughly Giorgionesque, but already so broad and free in its treatment that I consider it to have been painted at least eight or ten years later. Also the Antwerp picture, whose signature bears the character of the seventeenth century, seems to me to be executed later than 1503 for the Pesaro family, but certainly before the "Amor sacro e profano." This Giorgionesque picture must be reckoned as one of that series of works to which belong "The Virgin and Child" of the Belvedere at Vienna (Room 2, No. 41), "The Enthroned S. Mark" in the Sacristy of the Salute, and "The Infant Jesus

art that this doubt should be cleared up; for, if that cartellino proves to be legitimate, then Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are in the right, and the history of the development of Venetian painting in the first three decades of the sixteenth century is pretty much as they have represented it. But, if that signature on Mr. Reiset's picture be not by Palma himself, but inserted after his death by some picture-dealer, their whole theory falls to the ground like a house of cards, and we shall have to assign to Palma a humbler place among his great contemporaries than the one given him by the authors of the "New History of Italian Art." It is therefore much to be wished, for the sake of art-history, that the present possessor, H.R.H. the Duke d'Aumale, should have this picture carefully cleaned.

But let us now go back to those pictures which are ascribed to Palma Vecchio at the Munich Gallery. The great "St. Jerome" in Room 7; No. 510, has also been imputed to Palma by some connoisseurs, while Dr. Marggraff thinks the author of this picture must have studied the Torso of the Farnese Hercules (!) at Rome; and that

between S. Andrew and S. Catherine" in S. Marccuola at Venice. Surely the artistic development of Titian as well as Palma (both descended from a mountain race) proceeded more slowly than Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle would have us believe. If in the first years of the sixteenth century, *i.e.* 1500-1503, Titian had already produced such superior works as those mentioned by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, he would soon have made such a reputation at Venice, that not only would Dürer have spoken of him in 1506, but the Republic itself would have given him commissions. Yet it was only in his frescoes at the "Scuola del Santo" of Padua, painted 1510-11, and still entirely Giorgionesque, that he first displayed his amazing talent, and immediately after received commissions from the city of Vicenza. Even then he did not begin to sign himself "maestro," but simply "Io tician di Cador depintore 1511, 2, Decembrio".—See Gozzati's work on the Church del Santo at Padua.

is another opinion. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, give this "Jerome Writing" to a non-Italian master. Amidst all this medley of opinions, shall I give my own? First, then, let us analyse this male figure. The modelling and expression of the face, the drawing of the fingers of the left hand, as well as that of the right leg, are altogether such as might have been done by a North Italian master of the middle of the sixteenth century; the arrangement of the folds in the mantle is also Italian, and not in the least Flemish. The architectural background is strongly suggestive of Moretto of Brescia; the modelling of the hand, as well as the form and movement of the lower part of the body, are much the same as in the works of Moroni of Bergamo. Summing up the effect of the whole, I can recognise as the author of this great "St. Jerome" no other master than Giovan Battista Moroni of Bergamo, the pupil of Moretto. But I am not able to say whether the picture be an original or a copy, because it is completely masked by a thick varnish turned yellow. In looking at it closely it gave me the impression of being a Flemish copy.

Under the name of Palma there hangs another picture in Room 7, No. 588, representing the Holy Family with two Mary's and S. Elizabeth. Beyond all question this picture does not belong to Palma; Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle admit this, and propose for its author either Bissolo, or one of the two Santa Croce (vol. ii., 488). In my opinion it is a free copy by Girolamo da Santa Croce after a picture of Giovan Bellini. As Paolo Farinato used to put a snail into his paintings as a sort of mark, Stefano da Zevio a peacock, Vinckeboons a finch, and so on, Girolamo da Santa Croce in the same way introduced a parrot whenever the subject he was treating would allow

it. So in this painting, amongst other characteristics of the master, such as the landscape, the form of the hand and ear, and the striped sky, we also find the green bird.

The works by Palma Vecchio that have come down to us are not numerous, a further proof that his life was a short one. On Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's list, some fifty-three or fifty-four pictures are mentioned as authentic works of Palma, and of these fifty-three we must take off the following:—

1. "A Holy Virgin, with Christ and S. John as boys, between Saints," in possession of Mr. E. Andreossi (Milan, Via Clerici). The picture is a Bonifazio Veronese all over, though it figured as a Palma in the Art Exhibition of Bergamo.

2. The "Schiava del Tiziano," in the Gallery Barberini, a weak copy of a much later master.

3. No. 329 of the Stuttgart Gallery, a "Holy Family" belonging to Bonifazio junior.

4. Also No. 17 and 14 of the same gallery are not works by Palma.

On the other hand, some pictures which have been taken from Palma by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, I regard as genuine. Amongst others, "John the Baptist," Room 1, No. 35, of the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna,¹ a picture which, though grievously painted over, still shows

¹ Defined by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. ii., 488) as "a feeble and injured panel in a style commingling that of Palma with that of Pordenone." This "John the Baptist" may very likely be part of the *triptych* which the inventory taken on Palma's death speaks of as "paletta in tre pezi del tajapiera de San Zuane Evangelista, zoè suso, un pezo ghe se san Zuan Baptista, et un altro San Roccho, e un altro Sebastian, fenidi (completed)," Racc. veneta, dispensa ii., Tomo i., Serie i., p. 78.

all the characteristics of Palma. To this picture I add a few more, which are not mentioned in the inventory of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle:—

1. "The Lucretia," Room 9, No. 5, of the Borghese Gallery.

2. "The Adulteress," in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome.

3. "The Infant Tobias with the Angel," at Stuttgart, No. 80.

4. The altar-piece in the Church of Peghera ; and

5. Another altar-piece in the Church of Dossena (both villages in the Brembo Valley near Bergamo).

6. Two pictures in the Guerini Stampalia Collection at Venice.

7. No. 605 in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, much restored, but genuine.

There are, according to my calculation, about sixty pictures of Palma known, of which some twenty-eight, including the finest and most important, Italy still retains in her possession ; the rest have travelled away to foreign lands. This is certainly a very low number, even for a painter who reached only his forty-eighth year. Besides, most of them are small cabinet-pieces, of which he could very well have thrown off three or four in the year, however slowly and carefully he may have gone to work in his painting. By L. Lotto there are, on the contrary, more than twenty works in the city and province of Bergamo alone (not reckoning the wall-paintings at S. Michele, Trescorre, and the neighbourhood), and amongst them seven large altar-pieces ; at Milan, seven ; at Brescia, one ; in the Marca Trevisana, two ; at Venice, three altar-pieces and some portraits ; at Florence, two (one at the Uffizi Gallery and one in private possession) ; twelve in

the Marca d'Ancona; at Rome, about eight; at Naples, one; and a fine portrait at Modena; in all, about 59-60 in Italy alone; those in other countries—and there are many of them—not being included. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle on the contrary, in their inventory of Lotto, reckon but thirty-two works in Italy and twenty-six abroad.

If in their early youth Lotto and Palma Vecchio knew and prized each other in Giovanni Bellini's studio, they appear to have come very little into contact from 1500 to 1510, as Lotto was for the most part absent from Venice in those years, and Lotto's signed pictures of the first decade of the century have not the least affinity with those of Palma. A more intimate relation between the two men seems only to have sprung up in the years 1510 to 1515. And to this epoch belong just those paintings of Palma that have the pointed striking lights so characteristic of Lotto, and the Giorgionesque rich colouring, *e.g.*, the "Adoration of the Shepherds," No. 274 of the Louvre Gallery, the bust of a lady, Room 2, No. 9, at the Belvedere; the magnificent portrait of a young lady in the Berlin Gallery, &c. I therefore believe that at that particular time Lotto and Palma together studied and tried to imitate the works of Giorgione, but that in these studies Lotto influenced Palma more than Palma did Lotto.

The finest and most perfect work of Palma appears to me to be the great altar-piece in the Church of S. Sebastiano at Vicenza. The figure of S. George still recalls the splendid S. Liberale in Giorgione's celebrated picture at Castelfranco. The "Adoration of the Magi" may be regarded as one of the last pictures of Palma; he began to paint it for the Church di Sant' Elena at Isola, near Venice, and it was finished chiefly by one of his scholars,

probably Cariani. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, see in this picture the influence of Cima as well as of Carpaccio (vol. ii., p. 468). The picture now hangs in the Brera Gallery at Milan, near another picture of Cariani's,¹ and can therefore be easily compared with it.

Amongst all the painters of the post-Bellinian school in Venice, Palma Vecchio is the most powerful and genuine, as his pupil Bonifazio Veronese appears to me the most brilliant and cheerful. The two masters are often confounded with each other. Let us now pass on to Palma Vecchio's friend and associate in art, Lorenzo Lotto.

LORENZO LOTTO is commonly said to have been born about 1480, but I am inclined to throw his birthday a few years back, to about 1476. For, in the first place, his picture in the Louvre Gallery (No. 227), representing St. Jerome, and signed with his name, and the date 1500,² displays not a little of the maturity of a master; and, secondly,

¹ The contract for this picture has been published in the *Archivio Veneto* (Tom. i., parte I^a, p. 167). It had been ordered by Orsa, the widow of Simone Malipiero. Jacopo Palma qdn. Ser Antonij received 100 ducats for it (1525). It appears that he was taken ill the following year.

² I have examined the date very closely by a good light, in company with several well-known connoisseurs, Vicomte Tauzia, director of the Louvre Gallery, Count Clément de Ris, and Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni of Bergamo, and we all four pronounced the signature genuine, and not altered as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have stated. These two Paris pictures, then, that of Lotto in the Louvre, and that of Palma at the Duke d'Aumale's, are the bone of contention between Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and myself; for while they declare the cartellino on the Palma picture to be genuine, and the date on the Lotto picture to be altered, I consider the latter to be legitimate, though perhaps touched up, but the "ticket" on Palma's Madonna picture to be spurious, and, what is the main point, the painting itself to be of a much later time than the year 1500.

Lotto appears to have been already very old in the year 1555, having then "almost entirely lost his voice," according to a document at the Correr Museum, Venice. In the same year "la santa casa di Loreto" paid "a messer Lorenzo Lotto, oblato di Santa casa," monthly, "un fiorino o bolognini 44" for nourishment and clothing, "because he had devoted his person and all his property to the Holy Virgin of Loreto." (Manuscripts on Lotto, in the library of the Museo Correr, kindly communicated to the author by the director, Commendatore Niccolò Barozzi.)

Lotto seems to have died at a great age in 1555 or 1556. As far back as 1542 he contemplated the approach of death, for we read in the "Libro Consigli," 3, carta 96, of the Convent of San Giovanni e Paolo at Venice: "Item ms. Lorenzo Loto dat scire relinquit conventui de credito suo pro palla Scti Antonini" (the fine altar-piece is still extant in the church, though very much neglected) "omne creditum suum ultra ducat: nonaginta, hoc videlicet pacto quod conventus teneatur in morte sua gratis sepelire eum in aliquo sepulcro et dare sibi habitum ordinis."

Lorenzo Lotto was neither born at Bergamo nor at Venice, as Dr. Marggraff suggests, but at Treviso.¹ Pro-

¹ About this master, also, Vasari was better informed than all his followers, who have tried to correct him on the authority of the wholly unreliable Lomazzo. Vasari says that Lotto was a Venetian and a scholar of Giambellino, and that he tried afterwards to imitate the manner of Giorgione. In his Bergamo contracts he calls himself *Lotus venetus*, and adds in one of them, *Nunc habitator Bergomi*; but in a document of 1509, at Rome, he is called *L. Lottus de Trivisio*. This very important document is in the Corsini Library, and runs thus:—"9 Martii, 1509. Magister laurentius Lottus de Trivisio confessus recepisse," for paintings to be executed in the rooms of the upper storey of the Vatican, "100 ducati." Raphael had then been at Rome more than half a year. Did Lotto ever execute those paintings?

bably he came very early to Venice, to the school of Giambellini, where, no doubt, he had Palma for a younger fellow-pupil, and the two youths, both of a simple, guileless, and pious disposition, would be drawn to each other.

The early works of Lotto, very Bellinesque in character, are the following:—

(a) The St. Jerome of 1500, in the Louvre.

(b) The little picture of 1505, mentioned by Federici ("Memorie Trevigiane," vol. ii., p. 78), now in possession of the painter Gritti, at Bergamo.¹

(c) The graceful and ingenious altar-piece at Santa Cristina, near Treviso, of about 1505-1506.²

(d) The picture in the Naples Gallery.

(e) The altar-piece in the church of Asolo, of the year 1506.³

¹ Signor Gritti's picture presents an allegory, and is minutely described by Federici. On the back of this much damaged picture we read: "Bernardus . Rubeus (Rossi) . Berceti . comes . Pont . Tarvis ." (he was Bishop of Treviso) "æt . ann . xxxvi . mens . x . D . (dies) v . Laurentius Lotus, P . cal . Jul . m . d . v ."

² This altar-piece is, like all his early works, signed with the Latin name of Lotto: "LAVRENT. LOTVS. P.," the NT forming a monogram. Folds of drapery and shape of hands still very Bellinesque; the expression of the Madonna serious; that of St. Cristina pure and pious; the St. Liberale has a Giorgionesque character. In this picture Lotto is still very quiet, with none of that nervous mobility, bordering on mannerism, which worries, and at first sight repels, the spectator, in his later works.

³ This picture, too, is signed LAVRENT. LOTVS., as well as the one at Munich. After the name he has added, IVNIOR. M.D.VI., *i.e.*, finished in the month of June. Some writers have misunderstood this signature, and inferred from it that there were two painters of the name, an elder and a younger. The picture itself rebuts any such hypothesis. This painting at Asolo, then, was completed in June, and in the early

(f) The picture in the Borghese Gallery, 1508.

(g) The Madonna in the Bridgewater Gallery, London (an old copy of this picture is at Grosvenor House).

(h) The picture at Recanati, 1509.

But only a few years later, in 1511 and 1512 (Jesi), we observe the great influence which the works of his countryman Giorgione must have wielded over him; for he too was a son of the self-same March of Treviso.

To my great regret, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to have formed quite a different conception of Lotto from what my own studies have taught me. They look upon him as a Bergamese, whereas Lotto's nature is fundamentally different from that of the Bergamese. They say, further, that he was a scholar of the Bellinesques, that he passed his youth with Previtali, and at last inclined to the manner of Palma and Giorgione, though he was never able to shake off his Lombard habits (? !). Now, Tassi has also made a present of him as a pupil to A. Previtali ("Vite dei Pittori, etc., Bergamaschi," i. 115), while first Lomazzo, and afterwards others, including even Lanzi, have declared Lotto (whom they took for a Bergamese) to be a sort of pupil of Leonardo da Vinci; probably for the sole reason that Bergamo is not a great many miles off Milan. Latterly, say Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Lotto approximated to Titian, adding, that Previtali also greatly influenced his manner. To fill up the measure of influences and resemblances, they make Lotto (who, under all these manifold pressures, must have become perfectly limp and disorganized) further visit

part of that month; for on the 20th of June we find him already at Recanati, signing a contract to paint a "Last Supper" for the Dominicans of that town.

Bologna in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and there study diligently the frescoes in the chapel of St. Cecilia, by Francia, L. Costa, Tamarozzo, Chiodarolo, and A. Aspertini,¹ because there is so much in Lotto's works that reminds you of them (? !).

Finally, they discover in poor Lotto a *mixtum compositum* of Cima, Bellini, Carpaccio, Montagna, Previtali, and Santa Croce; and, to crown all, they find that Dürer must have influenced him too. They think Lotto visited the studio of Palma Vecchio, who must have furnished him with the sketch for his picture of 1508 in the Borghese Gallery. Like all admirers of these two eminent art-critics, I cannot refrain from expressing my amazement at the vast learning displayed in this elaborate analysis; the only drawback is, that it does not seem to be quite in accordance with the truth, as I understand it. This charming early picture of Lotto, which he might have painted at Rome or in the Marca d'Ancona for some nunnery, is conceived and executed so entirely in the sense and manner of the Trevisan himself, that I do not know of any work of Lotto's that recalls Palma less than this same Borghese picture. The drawing of the Madonna's hand; the fall of the hair, and the light upon it, in the Infant Christ; the folds of the drapery, are still entirely Bellinesque. It is true, as Dr. Thausing has remarked, that there is a touch of Dürer in the St. Onuphrius, especially of a head in Dürer's painting of 1506, "Christ among the Scribes" (Gallery Barberini); but I think this "coincidence" may be explained by simply supposing that the same Venetian beggar's head very likely served as model to the one master as to the other.

¹ That fine cycle of frescoes was completed in 1506.

Vasari says: "Fu compagno ed amico del Palma Lorenzo Lotto," that is, Lotto was fellow-pupil and friend of Palma, not "journeyman," as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have translated it, apparently with the view of supporting their hypothesis that Lotto was a scholar or imitator of Palma. As a fact, some of Palma's works in his second and in his third or last period, 1512—20, are, as already mentioned, so Lottesque, especially in the manner of laying on the lights and shadows, that the late Dr. Mündler actually took the Palma in the Louvre (277) for a Lotto.¹ Palma is on the whole a more perfect and pleasing master than Lotto, who in his works is often precipitate and loses his balance. On the other hand, as regards inventive power and artistic conception, Lorenzo Lotto stands far higher, and has also more of poetic "estro" than the Bergamese. Lanzi rightly remarks: "Se Palma è meno animato del Lotto e meno sublime, è forse più bello, comunemente parlando, nelle teste delle donne e dei putti." The dry matter-of-fact Previtali, with all his technical skill, certainly never exercised any sort of influence on Lotto, but rather *vice versá*, as we shall see later on; and as for any artistic relation between Lotto and Leonardo, it seems to me purely imaginary.²

Finally, Lorenzo Lotto was, it seems, "Correggesque" at a time when Antonio Allegri had not yet earned his spurs. Correggio and Lotto were just kindred natures, who worked at the same period; both, like Leonardo before them, strove to give expression to mental beauty,

¹ Contributions to Jacob Burckhardt's "Cicerone," p. 57.

² The seventeen years' old "Lorenzo," who was admitted into the studio of Leonardo at Florence in 1505, was probably the sculptor Lorenzetto. Lorenzo Lotto was at that time in Treviso, and when he settled at Bergamo in 1515, Leonardo had left for France.

and this is the last step taken by Art, when arrived at its culminating point. Such a result evidently lay in the organic development of the artistic faculty itself.¹ At Bergamo Lotto worked in the years 1515 to 1524;² in the March of Ancona and at Rome in 1506—10, and again in 1554—56; the rest of his time he seems to have passed at Venice in the convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo. Unlike his congenial contemporary Correggio, Lotto chose almost exclusively religious subjects for representation: if we except the so-called "Triumph of Chastity" (Gallery Rospigliosi at Rome), and the little "Faun" of the Munich

¹ How is it that so many portraits by Lotto are ascribed to Correggio? In a portrait painted from life there cannot be any question of extraneous influences acting on the master, as the conception must in each case be his own.

² Lorenzo Lotto first came to Bergamo in 1513, and there signed a contract which bound him to paint for the Dominican church of that place the large picture with the portraits of the founders, Alessandro and Barbara Martinengo. He then returned to Venice, and executed in the convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo a model four feet high by two feet wide for this picture. This model, painted on wood and signed "LAV. LOT. in IO. PAV. PINXIT", I saw some years ago at Bergamo; it has been sold, and went to France. In the large altar-piece, the largest he ever painted, begun 1515 and finished 1516, Lotto is more Correggesque than Antonio Allegri himself in his picture of St. Francis, in the Dresden Gallery (151), painted 1514. Observe particularly the movement of St. Alexander, that of the Baptist, also of the angels that sport under the throne. The three fine predellas for this picture are in the sacristy of St. Bartolomeo at Bergamo, and the picture itself behind the chief altar. In the beginning of that year, 1515, before Lotto arrived at Bergamo, he must have painted, probably in passing through Padua, the fine portrait of Augustinus della Torre, professor at Padua. It is now in the National Gallery, London, and has the following inscription: "Dño Nicolao de la Turre nobili Bergomensi amico Sing^o, 1515. Bgmi." Very likely he brought the picture with him from Padua to Bergamo, and delivered it to Niccolo della Torre. I think he must have inserted the other portrait, probably of Niccolo himself, at a later time, for this second figure is placed very awkwardly in the background.

Gallery, I do not know of any theme that Lotto drew from Greek mythology. His portraits of men and women, however, will bear comparison with the best portraits by his contemporaries. There are three at the Brera Gallery, three at the National Gallery in London, others at Mr. Holford's, and at Hampton Court, in the museum of Madrid, and a very fine one in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna.¹

¹ This portrait in the Belvedere Gallery formerly went under the name of Titian, to whom the late Doctor Waagen still ascribed it. In recent times it was taken from Titian and given to Correggio. It represents a young nobleman in Venetian dress, three-quarter length; the face is noble, pale, the hair and beard light brown, the eyes bluish. In the left hand he holds a golden bird's-claw. The head, as in all the portraits by Lotto, is aristocratic, refined, and full of soul; the hands white and delicate in their flesh tints, with the greenish shadows peculiar to him. In Herr von Engerth's catalogue this portrait is said to represent the Bolognese naturalist, Ulysses Aldrovandi, born in 1522, which is in any case a blunder, as Correggio (supposing he were the painter), died when Aldrovandi was barely twelve years of age. In the Town Gallery of Bergamo there is a good Caracci portrait of Aldrovandi, which has not the remotest similarity to the Lotto portrait at Vienna. Nor is it at Vienna alone that portraits by Lorenzo Lotto bear the name of Correggio; the same substitution has taken place in the Hampton Court Collection. The better portraits by Lotto all have that refined, inward elegance of feeling which marks the culminating point in the last stage of progressive art in Italy, and which is principally represented by Leonardo da Vinci, Lorenzo Lotto, Andrea del Sarto, and Correggio; whereas the elegance of Bronzino in Tuscany, and of Parmeggianino in North Italy, is an outward affected one, which has nothing to do with the inner life of the person represented, and therefore characterizes the first stage of declining art. As I said before, there is about this elegance of feeling in Lotto, as well as Correggio, something nervous and morbid. These two artists were very much alike in their temperament; both were of a retiring disposition and fond of solitude. Lorenzo Lotto passed the greater part of his long life in the stillness of a convent-cell, among Dominican monks; neither he nor Correggio ever sued the favour of the mighty, or the so-called fortunate, of this

Titian, who was of about the same age as Lotto, seems to have thought very highly of him. In April, 1548, Pietro Aretino wrote to Lotto as follows:—"Titian writes to me from Augsburg, that he embraces and greets you, and he adds, that his delight in seeing his works praised by the Emperor would be doubled if he could show them to you, and talk them over with you."

The pleasing early picture by Lotto at the Munich Gallery hangs in Room 6, and is No. 552. It represents the marriage of St. Catherine, and is signed: "LAVRENT. LOTVS. F." The form of the hand in this picture is still quite Bellinesque, and the movement of the infant Christ as well as of St. Joseph, very characteristic of the master. It may belong to about the same period as the paintings in Santa Cristina and Asolo (1504—6). In pictures of his later time, that is, between 1520—30, Lotto usually signs himself in Italian, Lorenzo or Laurentio Loto or Lotto.

This work is painted on the same system that Albert Dürer, Van der Goes, Giambellini, and many others had adopted on both sides of the Alps, namely, the Van Eyck system.¹ Unfortunately, the sky is almost entirely repainted. But is this the only work by Lotto that the Munich Gallery possesses? I do not think so. The charming little "Faun" in Room 6, No. 674, appears to me another work of Lotto's. This interesting little picture probably represents young Pan as the master of music.

world. For the time in which they lived, and the schools out of which they sprang, their representations are the least realistic.

¹ It was first ground in grey in grey, with tempera-colours, and then glazed with thin oil-colours. Linseed or nut oil, after being filtered several times, was diluted with varnish. Pictures painted in this manner never turn black and always keep their transparency of colour, as this little picture of Lotto's proves.

He sits on a stone, playing the flute ; near him is a lyre ; in the distance a deer grazing in a green meadow. Curiously enough, the picture came to Munich under the name of Correggio, but was looked at askance by connoisseurs, and not considered worth a closer inspection, as it hardly tallied with the manner of Correggio, and certainly not with his best known and popular style. But the value and importance of this picture, too, did not escape the keen glance of Mündler, who is said to have ascribed it to Palma Vecchio. In fact, this charming young Pan may be seen at the first glance to be Venetian. The system of painting is that of Giambellini, Lotto, and other Bellinesques, as is very apparent in those places where the glazing has peeled off. The glowing horizon recalls Palma, as well as Lotto ; so does the emerald green of the meadow. The shape of the hands, however, the light-blue of the kerchief on Pan's shoulders, and especially the elegant little ribbon with which it is fastened on the breast, lastly, the choice of the subject, and the ingenious *naïve* conception of it, all this speaks to my mind more for Lotto than for Palma. This precious picture has, unfortunately, suffered in several places by repainting and effacement.

From Lotto we now pass to his countryman *Giorgio Barbarelli*, named GIORGIONE. The picture ascribed to him is in Room 7, and bears the number 470. It was, as I have said, formerly attributed to Titian, re-christened a Giorgione at Munich, and at last ascribed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Giovan Antonio da Pordenone. The type of this beautiful woman is much the same as we meet with in many a picture by Titian in his Giorgionesque period : for instance, that at the Louvre Gallery (Alfonso of Ferrara, and Laura Dianti). The predominant violet tone,

which we find, for instance, in the so-called *Flora* of the Uffizi at Florence (626), and which is altogether peculiar to Titian, is still visible in this picture. The brownish-yellow neckerchief that falls on the bosom of the woman, as well as the form of the hand, which is the same as in the so-called *Laura Dianti*, in the above-named Louvre picture, is very characteristic of Titian.

For these positive reasons, to say nothing of negative ones, which forbid me to ascribe this allegoric figure to Giorgione, Pordenone, or any other painter of the Venetian school at that period, I reckon this Sibyl of the Munich Gallery among the early works of TITIAN. Surely his lofty spirit still breathes freshly on us even out of this ruin!¹ Let us now examine minutely the remaining works of the great Cadorian that are to be found in this picture gallery.

Dr. Marggraff makes Titian come into the world about 1477; he lets him go to school first to Gentile, then to Giovanni Bellini, and afterwards complete his education under the influence of his precocious contemporary and friend Giorgione. I agree with these statements, except that I would fain leave out Giovanni Bellini. Little as I admire the moral character of Titian, I should find it very painful to admit that the aged Bellini, from whom young Titian so greedily, and with so much intriguing, snatched away his pension of the *Genzeria* of Fondaco, in 1513, had ever been his master. Whether Titian learned the rudiments of his art from Antonio Rosso, from Sebastiano Zuccato, or from Gentile or Giovanni Bellini, is a

¹ Of the same period is, I think, the "*Herodias*" in the Doria Gallery at Rome. It is there ascribed to Giorgione; and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, consistent in their reasoning, give it to Pordenone.

question of no great historical importance. What cannot be denied is the influence of Giorgione, which is so manifest in the works of his youth, that many pictures by Titian of that period (1504—1512) have been attributed to his master and model, Giorgione.¹

In 1505 Titian appears to have been still an assistant of Giorgione; and we are informed by the "Anonymus" of Morelli, that, in 1511, on Giorgione's death, Titian completed several unfinished works of his master and friend. Giorgione's influence, however, is not only to be traced in the early works of Titian; it stands out broadly in the paintings of nearly all his Venetian contemporaries—Boccacchino, Lotto, Palma, Giovan Antonio da Pordenone, Bonifacio Veronese, Cariani, Dosso, Romanino, and many others, not to speak of his scholar, Sebastiano Luciani. Besides Giorgione's influence on Titian, which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle themselves admit, and even magnify in the case of an early picture representing St. Mark enthroned between four saints (now in the sacristy of the "Salute" at Venice),² the said writers also perceive the influence of

¹ *e.g.*, the "Herodias" in the Doria Gallery, the "Christ bearing the Cross" in S. Rocco at Venice, the Madonna between St. Ulfus and St. Bridget in the Madrid Museum, &c. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ("Life of Titian," vol. i.) state, however, that the lovely Madonna, No. 41 of the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, was painted by Titian so early as in the fifteenth century, and see in it something that reminds them of the Bellini, of Carpaccio, and even of Palma Vecchio (!); they praise up especially the fine landscape in the background. But this very landscape ought to have taught them that the picture must have been painted some years later than they say. One has only to compare that free landscape with the landscapes in the pictures of Giovanni Bellini, Cima, Basaiti, and even of Previtali, and one will easily be convinced of the error into which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have fallen.

² This picture, as well as that in the church vulgo di S. Marcuola at Venice, representing the Infant Jesus between the Saints Andrew

Fra Bartolomeo della Porta in the same painting, especially in the fall of the draperies, and in the movements of St. Sebastian and St. Rochus. In order to take in the full force of this shrewd remark, we must bear in mind that Fra Bartolomeo della Porta came to Venice in April of the year 1508, and not only spent some weeks at the convent of San Pietro Martire, on the island of Murano, but even began to paint an altar-piece¹ for the monks.

And now let us look at these works of Titian, of which the catalogue enumerates about a dozen.

In Room 7, No. 1329, we see a genuine and very fine picture of the master, painted in his last years; it represents the "Scourging of Christ." Never did painter handle brush with more firmness and freedom than Titian, when ninety years old, has done on this canvas. Here he has limited his palette to white, black, red, and orange, the colours said to have been exclusively used by the earliest painters of ancient Greece. The aged Titian's example was afterwards followed now and then by Rubens and Van Dyck, but most brilliantly by old Frans Hals in his two celebrated portrait-pictures in the Haarlem Gallery.² Our painting is said to have come to Germany from the Netherlands. Among the various repaintings observable in the picture, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle can actually recognise the hand of Rubens, or, still better, that of Van Dyck; *e.g.*, in the man seen in profile threaten-

and Catherine, also the Madonna and Child (41) in the Belvedere Gallery, seem to me to be the earliest works by Titian that have come down to us, and both may have been painted several years before the "Amor sacro e Amor profano."

¹ See P. Marchese: "Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani" (vol. ii. pp. 59—64).

² Nos. 60 and 61, the Directors and the Directresses of the hospitals.

ing the Saviour (Titian, vol. ii. p. 395, note 2). It is true, that hand with the long, elegant, tapering fingers is not Titianesque, but probably restored by some Netherlander; but whether by Van Dyck, or what other Fleming, the gods only know.

Very exquisite also is the beautiful Portrait of a Man in black dress, once erroneously called a Pietro Aretino (No. 467).

In the same room (No. 450) we see Mary seated on the ground in a landscape, adoring the Child, which lies in her lap, and surrounded by the saints Francis, Jerome, and Antony, who touches the foot of the child; quite disfigured by restorations. If I mistake not, this picture must have been at one time a very good atelier-work of Titian, which he himself may possibly have put a hand to. To think of its being Bonifacio's, as Dr. Marggraff does, can only happen to one who has no clear conception of either Titian or Bonifacio. The same composition has been often repeated, with modifications, by imitators of Titian.¹

No. 478, the life-size portrait of the Grand Admiral Luigi Grimani, standing, is certainly not by Titian, and still less by Tiberio Tinelli, nor is it painted in the manner of Pietro Vecchia, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain (ii. 488); least of all is it by Bern. Strozzi, as some

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give this painting to Francesco Vecelli ("Life of Titian," ii. 485). I confess I know too little of this imitator of Titian to pass an opinion on him. But the painting gives me the impression of being a good atelier-work. I fancy the drawing was done by Titian himself. The "Anonymus" of Morelli speaks of Titianesque atelier-works having been executed partly by a certain Girolamo, partly by a Stefano del Tiziano. And this painting might be one of those.

have lately suggested. As I cannot endure this groping and guessing, I prefer to confess that I do not know the painter.

No. 492. "A Man in black dress." Pearls and other jewels lie on a table before him; behind it a woman. This damaged, but still very interesting, picture has, with sound judgment, been given back to *P. Bordone* by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 487). Dr. Marggraff thinks it a "school-work" of Titian. They seem at Munich to have no clear conception of *Paris Bordone* at all, or they could not for all these years have paraded before the patient public, as a genuine work of that charming colourist, the flat, soulless copy in Room 7, No. 483. Even now this dull copy is still copied by so-called artists. And then to say that one must be a working painter to understand the old masters! One would almost feel inclined to set up the contrary as an axiom. As for *Palma's* daughter *Violante*, beloved by Titian, she is a myth, for *Palma* had no daughter, but only a niece called *Magdalena*.

No. 496. "Portrait of Charles V." Genuine and beautiful. The landscape, sketched in with admirable ease, vividly recalls in its tones the landscapes of *Rubens*; see *e.g.*, the pictures No. 279 and No. 260 by *P. P. Rubens*. It is only after his ambassadorial voyage to Madrid that *Rubens* seems to have taken Titian for his model in landscape as well. The Emperor here looks ill and out of humour. I think this picture must have been painted some months before the wonderful equestrian portrait of Charles V. in the Madrid Museum, to my thinking the finest portrait in the world, as far as conception goes. The signature on the portrait at Munich is genuine, though retouched: "TITIANUS . F. 1548."

No. 587. "Mary, seated in a landscape, with the Infant

Jesus, the Infant St. John, and the Donor." Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider this painting one of the most excellent and valuable works of Titian, rich in colouring, fine in the figures, and fine in the characters. They admire especially the donor, and assign it to the years 1520—1525. I also cannot help admiring the magnificent Titianic colouring and the good portrait of the donor; on the other hand, I think the drawing and modelling too weak for the master himself, the foliage too minute, the lamb too spiritless; besides, the ear of the Madonna has not the form peculiar to Titian.

England possesses excellent works by Titian. I can only mention here those which are best known. There are five at Bridgewater House; for instance, the charming representation of the three ages (a good copy of it is in the Doria Gallery at Rome). Beautiful pictures by Titian are the following in the National Gallery:—No. 270, "Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen (*Noli me tangere*);" No. 4, a "Holy Family, with a shepherd adoring;" No. 35, "Bacchus and Ariadne;" No. 635, "The Madonna and Child, with St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine." Two very fine male portraits are at Hampton Court (No. 122 and No. 149). The grand family picture of the Cornaro is in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland.

No. 591. "The Holy Virgin, in an evening landscape," signed (apocryphally) "F. Titianus." A picture much damaged by restorations. In my opinion it is an atelier work finished by the master himself; the landscape in the background seems entirely painted by him; of his later period.

We now come to the Bergamese portrait-painter, G. B. MORONI, by whom there are two pictures in this gallery.

Both are in Room 7. The first represents a lady in fur, No. 583. It has suffered by cleaning, but is still a very good work of the master, painted between 1560—1570. All the characteristics of Moroni are easily to be recognised in it. The second, No. 452, is in the revised catalogue of Dr. Marggraff ascribed to Moretto. This was, in more than one respect, an ill-omened re-baptism; for, in the first place, it proves that the Doctor knows but little of Moroni; and, secondly, it made him say what is not true about Moretto, as this master was born, not in 1500, but in 1498, and died, not at Bergamo, but at Brescia, and not in 1560, but four years earlier. The portrait represents a clergyman, and is one of the best works of Moretto's scholar. Some modern critics, even before Dr. Marggraff, have tried to assign to Moretto this picture so characteristic of Moroni. In certain cases, where Moroni, for instance, copies pictures of his master Moretto, as in the reading St. Jerome of the Communal Gallery of Bergamo, or in his early work, marked No. 252 in the Brera Gallery, Moroni might be confounded with his master by those who are not very familiar with the characteristics of his style. The shape and expression of the hand, for instance, are very different in Moroni from what they are in Moretto. The hands of the latter, with pointed fingers, suggestive of the academy, are never so true to nature as those that Moroni can make when he chooses in drawing from life. Moretto's flesh-colours, too, have a delicate silver-tone, while Moroni's, with their earth-like tint, are more realistic. In this portrait at Munich the hand is very characteristic, and leaves not the smallest doubt in a connoisseur's mind of its being by Moroni and not by Moretto.

Giovanni Battista Moroni was born at Bondio, near Albino, a small place in the province of Bergamo, and

very probably about 1525, for his earliest works have that red-brick tone in the flesh parts which we meet often in the works of Moretto after 1540. Moroni must, therefore, have entered the atelier of Moretto somewhere about that date. Though Moretto himself was a Brescian by birth, his forefathers, the Bonvicini,¹ came from Ardesio, a village, which, like Albino, is in the Serio valley; they settled at Brescia as merchants about the year 1438. The earliest dated picture by Moroni that I know is at the Berlin Gallery, and is of the year 1553. I do not mean to imply that Moroni had painted no pictures before. I know several of his earliest works, both in the town and in the province of Bergamo. I will here name two for the sake of those who wish to know this master more intimately: one at the parish church of Gorlago, which, perhaps, of all Moroni's pictures, comes nearest to Moretto;² and a Christ at the Communal Gallery of Bergamo; bust in profile.

No portrait-painter ever placed the epidermis of the human face upon canvas with more fidelity, and with greater truth than Moroni; his portraits all have a more or less prosaic look, but they must all have had that startling likeness to the original which so enchants the great public, who exclaim "The very man! just how he looks!" And

¹ Ambrogio and Moretto, quondam Guglielmino of Ardesio, called Bonvicini. (See "*Dizionario degli Artisti Bresciani*," by Stefano Fenaroli).

² On the wall to the left of the door, under the name of Ceresa. It represents Christ with the cross, floating in a glory of angels; below on the earth are St. John the Baptist and a saint in warlike armour, both kneeling. The angels, as also the holy warrior, are taken from Moretto. The drawing in this early picture by Moroni is very careful, but somewhat cramped. The form of head in the Christ recalls rather Romanino than Moretto. This painting was probably executed by Moroni when still at Brescia in his master's studio. On canvas.

it was with the eyes of the great public that Moroni did look at his subjects; he was not a poet in the true sense of the word, but a consummate painter. Yet, now and then, he manages to go beyond himself, and to pierce the surface, till he reaches the soul of the sitter. In such cases his portraits may rank with those of Titian.

Moretto shows himself the higher artist of the two; his conception of a subject and his drawing are nobler and more elegant than those of his matter-of-fact scholar; but these intellectual qualities, which are not perceptible to every eye, do not always suffice to distinguish his weaker works from Moroni's best. In such cases the only means we have of determining the authorship of a given work is an exact and minute knowledge of the shapes of hand and ear, which are very different in the two masters. It was not till the present century that Moroni attained that European fame which he deserves as a portrait-painter. During his lifetime he was highly celebrated in his own native district, especially in the Bergamo province, but was hardly known beyond the limits of the Venetian republic. At the beginning of this century nearly all his works were still in Bergamo and its neighbourhood, and the few portraits which had found their way across the Alps in former centuries were invariably introduced to the public under the name of Titian or some other master. Take, for instance, the so-called anatomist A. Vesalius (Room 2, No. 24 of the Vienna Pinacothec), and the other male portrait there (No. 34). Both pictures belonged to the collection of the Archduke Leopold William at Brussels, where they were ascribed, the former to Titian, as it is even now, and the latter to John of Calcar.

Among the finest portraits by Moroni are three in the

National Gallery, London,¹ the "Scholar" at the Uffizi Gallery, a few in the Communal Collection of Bergamo, and three or four others in private possession there. His numerous altar-pieces, still remaining in the Bergamo province, are all very superior as regards technical skill, but mostly dry and spiritless in conception.

Moroni died in the year 1578, while executing his great picture of "The Last Judgment" for the parish church of Gorlago, five miles from Bergamo.

The following are the most deserving of his imitators:—Gianpaolo Colmo, Francesco Zucco, Carlo Ceresa, and Giovan Battista Moneta, all four from Bergamo. Portraits by the last-named painter are extremely rare.

Nearly all the leading picture galleries in Germany possess one or two portraits by Moroni. The one at Munich (No. 452) and the "Dominican Brother" in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt, are in my opinion the best of them all.

Drawings by Moroni are very scarce; there was one in Mr. Prayer's collection at Milan, representing St. Rochus in a worshipping posture; weak and spiritless.

¹ How even a practised eye may confound portraits by Moroni with those by Moretto is strikingly proved in the case of the late O. Mündler, who, in his Contributions to Jacob Burckhardt's "Cicerone," p. 67, speaks of the three life-size portraits, formerly in the Casa Fenaroli at Brescia, and now for some years at the National Gallery, London, as works of Moretto, to whom they were also ascribed when in Italy. It was the present writer's privilege, when visiting Count Fenaroli's collection some years ago, to be the first to recognise in two of these celebrated portraits the hand and the mind of Moroni, under whose name they have also been sold to the National Gallery by the dealer Baslini, of Milan; one of them represents "A Cavalier in a black cap, wounded in the foot;" the other, "A seated Lady, in a brocade dress." The third magnificent portrait, representing a young cavalier in a red cap, is dated 1526, and is one of Moretto's most elegant portraits.

The technical treatment, in water-colours and chalk, which Moroni adopted from his master Moretto, seems to have originated in the school of Vincenzo Foppa, and is much the same as that of Gaudenzio Ferrari and his scholars down to Lomazzo; while the other contemporary masters in the Venetian lands nearly always used for their drawings either pen and ink, or red or black chalk, *e.g.*, Titian and Giorgione, Paris Bordone, the Bonifazios, the Veronese Liberale, Carotto, Francesco Morone, and others. I beg my young fellow-students in art history to take note of this, for these technical practices of schools will often furnish valuable hints.

In Room 7, No. 584, there is a remarkable portrait of a young man with a rose in his hand. The catalogue calls it the artist's portrait by himself; and as it is signed *Franciscus Turbidus*, it ought to be, according to Dr. Marggraff, a portrait of Moro of Verona, painted by himself. But the picture also bears the date 1516; and as the catalogue makes Torbido come into the world in 1500, he ought in this picture to be a youth of sixteen, which is evidently not the case. Some will say that these are trifles, and one need not be so particular in judging works of art!

Francesco Torbido, called *Moro*, was born at Verona in 1486, and died there in 1546.¹ Vasari, having procured his information about the Veronese painters from the Padre Marco Medici (whose estimate of the importance of the Veronese school I consider very inadequate), was also not

¹ A portrait of this artist, seen in profile, drawn in red chalk, and arbitrarily ascribed to Gentile Bellini, is in the collection of Christ Church College, Oxford. The lips and the hair appear here to be Moor-like. This excellent drawing, evidently by some Venetian master, bears the following inscription:—"FRANCISCVS TVRBIDVS. VENET. PIC."

quite fair to Torbido, whom he decidedly undervalued. Modern writers have blindly followed Vasari's opinion, and placed Moro on about the same level as the superficial and flat Pomponio Amalteo. But in so doing they are grossly unjust to Torbido. Vasari designates this Veronese a scholar of Giorgione, a statement the truth of which I very much doubt. In his early works, of which our portrait is one, he looks to me far more like a pupil of Liberale. I think, therefore, that in company with Giolfino and the two Carottos he must have served his apprenticeship in the studio of his old countryman Liberale. And in the works of his later period, for instance, in the altar-piece of the church S. Fermo at Verona (where the Madonna and Child, surrounded by angels, are represented on clouds, and the archangel Raphael with young Tobias on the ground below), the fine poetical landscape of the background with the two small figures strongly recalls another of his countrymen, Bonifazio the elder. Finally, his latest works, such as the frescoes in the Cathedral of Verona, prove how the injurious influence of Giulio Romano had affected even this (otherwise so independent) Veronese.

There are other pictures by this underrated artist, in the Municipal Gallery at Verona: "Madonna and Child," No. 49; "Archangel Raphael with Tobias," No. 49 (there ascribed to Moretto of Brescia, probably in consequence of confounding their similar names); another "Madonna with Saints and the Donor," No. 210, very grand in conception, but much damaged. In St. Zeno the first altar on the left is also by his hand. Then the Cathedral of Salò contains a very fine work by him, though quite misunderstood there; another altar-piece, unfortunately quite spoiled, and likewise under the name of Moretto, is to be seen at the church of Limone, which is also on L. Garda. This

Torbido is really a personality that deserves to be more closely studied and brought into the light of day, a worthy task for a young student who would win his spurs. I think he would have to bring the elder Bonifazio into close connexion with Torbido. They were fellow-countrymen, and both have been influenced by the Giorgionesque school, Bonifazio through Palma Vecchio, and Torbido probably at third hand, that is, through Bonifazio. But Torbido, for all that, remained faithful to his first master Liberale until his death, in 1536.

I know of only two or three portraits by Torbido besides this one at Munich: one in the Communal Gallery of Padua (much damaged, No. 49); another, signed, in the Naples Museum, clumsy and not beautiful. A portrait in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence (No. 571), there given to Giorgione, is in my opinion not by Caroto,¹ as Mündler thought, and far less by Torbido, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain. (See "History of Painting in North Italy," vol. ii. p. 163: "There is some excuse for substituting Giorgione for Torbido, as is done here; that is, for substituting the master for the pupil;" and in vol. i., p. 511, they call this portrait "an unmistakable work of Torbido.")

Mündler was quite right in recognising in this picture the hand and spirit of a Veronese painter, and of one who had nothing to do with the Giorgionesque style; he therefore proposed Caroto, and in so doing came very near the truth. If I am not much mistaken, the picture belongs to a painter who at one period of his career must have stood in a close relation to Cavazzola, and even

¹ See Burekhardt's "Cicerone," second edition, revised by A. von Zahn, 1869.

worked together with him, as the pictures No. 298 ("St. Michael and St. Paul") and No. 301 ("St. Peter and John the Baptist") in the Town Museum of Verona prove. I mean the little known Michele da Verona, by whom there are signed frescoes in the church of Santa Chiara at Verona. He, too, like Cavazzola and Francesco Morone, came from the school of Domenico Morone. At that period (1509—1514) the works of Cavazzola are with difficulty to be distinguished from those of Michele da Verona. Thus the fine picture at the first altar on the left in St. Anastasia at Verona, there ascribed to Cavazzola, is, in my opinion, by Michele. This painter is more pointed in the foldings of his draperies, as well as in the fingers of his hands, which are always rather stumpy in Cavazzola. In conception, however, Cavazzola¹ is far above Michele, and also more elegant and noble in his drawing.

In the same Room 7 (No. 597), there is also a St. Nicholas, in full canonicals, between St. John the Baptist and St. Philip. The picture is signed—"1533 F. SEBASTIAN. F. PER, AGOSTINO CHIGI." But Agostino Chigi died in 1520. The whole signature is evidently apocryphal, and the painting is in the manner of *Rocco Marconi*, a pupil of Palma and Bordone. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are of the same opinion, as, indeed, every one must be who has the slightest acquaintance with the Venetian masters.

There is another remarkable portrait of Venetian origin on which I should like to express my opinion. The picture hangs in Room 7 (No. 1421). Dr. Marggraff, in his preface, justly draws our attention to a master so little known

¹ Two excellent works by this master, the Raphael of the Veronese School, are in the National Gallery, London (Nos. 735 and 777).

in Germany. *Domenico Caprioli* was a Trevisan, and, to judge by his pictures, had formed himself on the works both of Palma and of Giorgione. This portrait of a young man is a sort of caricature of Giorgione. It has been much repainted. In its present dirty state it is difficult to decide whether it is a replica or a later copy of the original at Mr. Cheney's, in London. This little picture bears the signature: "FRAN. DOMINICI SE PINXIT. MDXXX. ANN. XXV." In the background a view of Treviso. This portrait of Domenici recalls the style of G. A. Pordenone.

2. THE FERRARESE AND THE BOLOGNESE.

The province of Polesine is only separated by the Po from that of Ferrara, and to this day there is a Venetian accent in the Romagnole dialect, easily discernible even to a foreign ear. In my pamphlet on the Borghese Gallery,¹ I have briefly pointed out the intimate relation which existed between the Paduan-Venetian schools of painting and those of the Romagnoles in general, and the Ferrarese in particular. And in doing so I have mentioned the names of Ansuino and Melozzo da Forlì, Cosimo Tura, Stefano and Bono of Ferrara, Marco Zoppo of Bologna, Lattanzio da Rimini and Niccolò Rondinello of Ravenna, Dosso Dossi and Scarsellino of Ferrara, and, lastly, also Antonio Allegri of Correggio.

This mutual relation between the Romagnoles and the Venetians, founded on the nature of things and elective

¹ Published in the "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst," vol. ix.

affinity, and therefore easy to account for, was, however, disturbed in the beginning of the sixteenth century by the clear and dazzling light which the works of Raphael and Michelangelo at the Vatican spread all over Italy, and which prompted many a Romagnole to betake himself to Rome. The first and greatest of these Romagnoles was the Ferrarese Benvenuto Tisio, called GAROFOLO. He was followed later on by Jacopo Bertucci, Girolamo Marchesi of Cotignola, Jacopo da Faenza, &c. But, notwithstanding his residence of about two years at Rome (1509—1511), Garofolo always remained a Ferrarese.¹ There are some pictures by him in the Munich Gallery, but none of special importance.

There is a genuine, but not a good, picture (Cabinet 21, No. 1190) by a younger countryman of Garofolo, Lodovico MAZZOLINI (his family name, and not a nickname as Dr. Marggraff thought). This painter signed himself L. Mazzolinus, and is rather to be considered a scholar of Domenico Panetti than of L. Costa. There are two genuine and good pictures in Room 6, by the noble *Francesco Raibolini*, named FRANCIA,² whom in his paintings I regard as a follower of Lorenzo Costa, his atelier-companion. One of them, No. 577, a well-known picture, represents the Virgin in a bower of roses, worshipping the Infant Christ; the other, No. 575, a Madonna holding the Child, who stands on a table covered with a gold-embroidered carpet. This is an early work of the master himself. The assertion that Francia was a pupil of Marco Zoppo may be read in books,

¹ Baron von Rumohr ("Ital. Forsch." iii. 88) is of a different opinion.

² Francia is an abbreviation of Francesco. The Florentines also had their Francione, their Franciabigio (Francesco Bigi).

but nowhere in his works, not even in his niello works, and still less his paintings, which, in technical matters, all point to Lorenzo Costa. The atelier of Francia at Bologna consisted of two stories; in the upper storey pictures were painted under the supervision of Lorenzo Costa; in the lower, gold and silver works were executed, coins stamped, &c., under the direction of Francia. The fable that Francia must have been a scholar of Marco Zoppo originated most likely at Bologna, and not until the seventeenth century. Local patriotism wanted to give the Bolognese Francia a Bolognese painter for his master. It is Malvasia, in his "*Felsina pittrice*," that treats us to the pleasing tale; and, to give us full measure, he makes Marco Zoppo descend from Lippo Dalmasio, Francia from Marco Zoppo, and winds up with making Lorenzo Costa a pupil of Francia. It seems far more probable that Francia acquired the first rudiments of design from some goldsmith at Bologna, and afterwards improved himself in drawing, perhaps under the direction of Francesco Cossa, who had been settled in Bologna from the year 1470. His two "*Paci*," niello works, executed between 1480—1485, which are to be seen at the Pinacothec of Bologna, recall the manner of Cossa in the design and the draperies. Marco Zoppo, a pupil of Squarcione, is of little account as an artist; and, moreover, he spent nearly all his life at Venice. Be that as it may, of this much I am certain, that Francia was neither influenced in his artistic tendency by Perugino, nor by the youthful Raphael, as Dr. Marggraff supposes. Perhaps on deeper inquiry it may even turn out that Raphael himself, in his earliest works, was influenced indirectly by the Francia-Costa school, namely, through his countryman, Timoteo Viti, the scholar of Francia.

A very good picture by a pupil of Francia, namely, the

Imolese Innocenzo Francucci, is exhibited in the same room, No. 581. It represents the Holy Virgin in a glory of angels and cherubs, and on the ground the Saints Petronius, Clara, Francis, and Sebastian, with two donors. Life-size figures.

The representatives of the later Bolognese school, the so-called Academicians, Eclectics, or what you will, are nearly all to be found at Munich: thus there are the Caracci, Annibale as well as Lodovico, Albani, Guido, Guercino, Simon da Pesaro, Tiarini, Cavedone, and Domenichino. One may therefore acquire at the Munich Gallery a very competent acquaintance with the aims and achievements of that celebrated school. But I cannot close my chapter on the Bologna-Ferrara school without speaking of the chief representative, or, to express it better, the Michelangelo of that school, namely, CORREGGIO, to whom half-a-dozen pictures are ascribed in this collection.

The most important of these, with regard to size and artistic value, which, according to the catalogue, is only "said to be" by Antonio Allegri, is in Room 6, under No. 580, and represents the Virgin and Child on clouds; below are St. James and St. Jerome, with the donor. Not Girolamo da Carpi, but rather Michelangelo Anselmi, might be thought of as the author. Anyhow, it is safer simply to assign the picture in general terms to the school of Correggio.

Another picture attributed to the school of Correggio in the new catalogue hangs in Room 6, and is numbered 469. It represents the Madonna seated under a tree, with the Child; near her an angel and Saints Jerome and Ildefonso. This picture, which may once have been Rondani's, is now so much painted over that it is really no longer fit to be exhibited in so important a gallery as the one

at Munich. The third picture (Small Room 19, No. 1187) is a copy from the well-known picture of "Cupid's Education," by Correggio, in the National Gallery at London, as Dr. Marggraff rightly states.

The "Head of a young Faun," Small Room 19, No. 1257, is probably Bolognese work. The "Ecce Homo," Small Room 19, No. 1249, is an unmistakable work of D. Feti; we certainly cannot think of giving it to Federigo Barocci, as Dr. Marggraff suggests. I have already spoken my mind on the charming little "Faun," Small Room 19, No. 1266.

3. THE LOMBARDS.

From the Bologna school of painting we now pass to the so-called Lombard school of Parma, for writers on art always speak of the masters of Modena, Parma, and Carpi as Lombards. Of Correggio's imitators, Michelangelo Anselmi and Rondani, I have just spoken. By Parmegianino,¹ Bedolo, Pomponio Allegri, Gandini, and others there are no works in this collection. It has a few by Bartolommeo Schedone, who, though educated in the school of the Caracci, afterwards took Correggio and also Parmegianino for his models. There is a penitent Magdalen by him in Cabinet 20, No. 1197; likewise No. 1217, "Lot and his Daughters;" while No. 1256 in the same cabinet, a "Halt on the Flight to Egypt," does not appear to me to be by him,

¹ The ugly Madonna picture (Room 9, No. 531) imputed to him by Dr. Marggraff belongs to a Florentine of the school of G. Vasari, and has not the remotest affinity with the works of Francesco Mazzoli.

but rather by some pupil or imitator of Rembrandt. By Schedone, again, is the other Magdalen, No. 566, Small Room 19. In the Small Room 18 we see a "Saviour of the World," No. 1202, of which Dr. Marggraff finds a good deal to say. The picture belongs to the school of Boccaccio Boccaccino of Cremona, and is perhaps the work of his brother, Bartolommeo Boccaccio. At all events, it belongs to the last years of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth, and is not, as the catalogue tells us, "in the style of the early part of the fifteenth century." This may be a misprint, or a *lapsus calami*, and I do not care to make Dr. Marggraff responsible for so gross a blunder; but in the name of that History of Art to which, in the preface to his Catalogue, he claims to have rendered such important services, I must hold him answerable for stamping Boccaccio Boccaccino offhand as "one of the happiest imitators of Pietro Perugino." It might also have been wiser if he had kept to himself the remarks with which he favours us on this occasion as to the artistic development of Girolamo dai Libri. In all his works that are known to us Girolamo dai Libri is a thoroughly Veronese painter, and anything but the mongrel, half Mantegna, half Giambellini, that Dr. Marggraff would have us imagine him.

From these Pseudo-Lombards we pass on to view the works of the real Lombard schools, namely, those which had their seat between the Po and the Adda, in the towns of Lodi, Pavia, and Vercelli; and whose intellectual focus was Milan.

The school of Lodi, with Albertino and Martino Piazza, and the sons of the latter, Calisto and Scipione, for its chief representatives, is but little known even in Italy, nay, in Lombardy. Nor is there a single work of this

school in the German collections. If at Munich there are no works by those Vercellian masters, the Oldoni, Gaudenzio Ferrari, the Giovenoni, Defendente Ferrari, Lanini, Grammorseo, the collection has, on the other hand, a genuine picture by Giovanantonio Bazzi, called *IL SODOMA*. It hangs in Room 6, and represents the Holy Family (No. 1194). The surname "de' Tizzoni," of an old noble family of Vercelli, was sometimes given to Bazzi out of sheer vanity, though Bazzi bore no blood relationship to that family. The Tizzoni may have patronized him in his youth; for Sodoma's father was a poor man, a shoemaker by trade. Neither was Bazzi born in the year 1474, but in 1477; nor was he a scholar of Girolamo Giovenone, who was ten or twelve years his junior, but he served his first apprenticeship from 1490—1497 with the painter on glass, Spanzotti of Vercelli. Soon after this he seems to have removed to Milan, and there pursued his studies under the influence of Leonardo da Vinci. In the year 1501 we find him settled at Siena, where he founded a school, and was imitated by the painters Beccafumi and Baldassare Peruzzi of that place. A picture by Sodoma, very similar to this one, but finer in execution, is in the Turin Gallery.

The catalogue further mentions some pictures which it assigns to the school of Leonardo da Vinci. Two are in Room 8; the one (No. 582A) representing St. Cecilia is in my opinion nothing but a bad Flemish copy after the Raphael portrait of Giovanna d'Aragona (in the Louvre); in this picture the lady is transformed into a Cecilia. A similar Flemish work, but better preserved, is in the Doria Gallery at Rome, and if I am not mistaken, under the name of Leonardo da Vinci. The other picture is No. 564, and represents the Holy Virgin in an open rocky

cave, with the Infant Christ lying beside her. I can easily understand how a man, whose notions of Leonardo da Vinci as an artistic personality are such as Dr. Marggraff forms, might take this Madonna for a work of the Florentine master's school, and that female bust with the dishevelled hair (No. 383) at the Augsburg Gallery, for Leonardo's own workmanship. Great, unfortunate Leonardo, how little art thou understood! At Petersburg they at least ascribe to him pictures by Cesare da Sesto and Bernardino di Conti, artists who more or less directly belonged to his school, and moreover were Italians; but at Augsburg and Munich they palm off upon the public, as works of Leonardo and his school, the pitiful productions of Flemish imitators. Every lover of art ought to protest with all his energy against such profanation. Another so-called Madonna of Leonardo, No. 1335 in the same room, is also not Italian, but the work of a Fleming, apparently one of the school of Gossaert.

By BERNARDINO LUINI, a native of Luino or Lovino, on the Lago Maggiore, a pupil of Ambrogio da Fossano, called Borgognone, and at one period an imitator of Leonardo, the Munich Gallery possesses, if we can believe the catalogue, in the first place a genuine picture, secondly a doubtful one, and thirdly a copy after him.

The so-called genuine picture is in Room 6, No. 586, and represents the Madonna offering the breast to the Infant Jesus, who lies in her lap, holding a goldfinch in his hand; landscape in the background. This Luini is nothing but a poor copy of a picture by Giampietrino, in possession of the Borghese Gallery at Rome (Room 1). The acknowledged copy from Luini is exhibited in Small Room 20, No. 1182, and need not detain us.

Lastly, the third picture, which the catalogue imputes, though doubtingly, to Bernardino Luini, is in Room 6, No. 565. It represents St. Catherine with a palm-branch in her hand, the wheel lying near her on the ground; landscape in the background. This painting has suffered so much by various restorations that one can hardly see anything of its real author. The right hand, for instance, is quite new; I recognise in it the workmanship of the late Milanese picture-restorer, Molteni. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. ii. pp. 60-61) ascribe this picture with better knowledge to ANDREA SOLARIO. I also believe this St. Catherine to have been originally painted by Solario.

In all the German collections there is only one¹ picture that I know of by this superior and refined Lombard master, namely, the "Herodias" at the Belvedere in Vienna (No. 78, Room 1, of the Old German School, under the name of Amberger).

As writers on art are not yet agreed about this painter, I take this opportunity to express my views on the subject somewhat at large. The artist-family of the Solari (architects and sculptors) originally came from the village of Solaro, near Saronno in the province of Milan, but was already settled at Milan in the first half of the fifteenth century; it appears, therefore, very probable that Andrew the painter, who was born about 1460, first saw the light at Milan. His elder brother, Christopher, was a sculptor and architect, and being somewhat humpbacked received the

¹ The "Ecce Homo" in Baron Sternburg's collection at Lützschena is an old copy, an intentional forgery. The "Herodias" at Vienna has much the same style of dress as the "Herodias" of Quintin Matsys (246) at Antwerp.

surname of "il gobbo," the hunchback.¹ Andrew was very fond of this brother, and seems to have followed him about wherever he went. This is probably the reason why his pictures are signed sometimes "Andreas Mediolanensis" and sometimes "Andreas de Solario;" the first signature is on those works which he painted far from Milan;² the second on those he executed at Milan. Some early writers call him Andrea del Gobbo, from which we may conclude that Christopher stood in something like a father's place to his younger brother. Many writers confound him with Andrea Salaino, the *famulus* of Leonardo da Vinci. The late Otto Mündler, in his admirable "Analyse Critique de la Notice des Tableaux Italiens du Louvre," Paris, 1850, has the merit of being the first to diffuse some light on the character of this artist as well as others. Then followed Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle; though in their chapter on Andrea Solario they have added some things that seem to me altogether untenable. Who his real instructor was, is not yet ascertained. In the superb modelling of his heads we detect the schooling he must have had, probably from his brother the sculptor. No Lombard painter comes so near to Leonardo as he, none ever turned out such a head as that in the "Ecce Homo" of the Poldi Gallery (Milan). In modelling hands, Solario lags far behind Leonardo. A small Madonna picture, No. 310 in the Brera Gallery, the earliest by A. Solario known to me, might also point to the influence of Barto-

¹ Monsieur Villot, in his Louvre Catalogue, made poor Andrew himself humpbacked, while the latest catalogue promotes Christopher to the dignity of Andrew's father.

² On the same principle Andrew Previtali signed himself Andreas Bergomensis; Vincenzo Civerchio, Vicentius Cremensis; Giuliano Bugiardini, Julianus Florentinus, &c.

lommeo Suardi, called Bramantino.¹ In 1490 he accompanied his brother Cristoforo to Venice, and there he may have painted the fine portrait of a "Venetian Senator" (now in the National Gallery, London), about 1492—93. The influence of Giambellini, still more that of Antonello da Messina, is evident in this painting; and so long as it remained in the Casa Gavotti at Genoa, it actually passed for a work of Giambellini's. The magnificently modelled "Ecce Homo" at Poldi's may also have been painted about 1494. The two brothers returned from Venice to Milan in 1493. Whether Andrew executed at Venice or somewhere else the altar-piece for the church of San Pietro Martire at Murano (of the year 1495, now at the Brera Gallery, No. 163), I am unable to say; he may very likely have paid a second visit to the city of lagoons, and painted the picture there. The face of the Madonna is thoroughly Leonardesque (reminding one, especially in the drawing, of Boltraffio's Madonnas), and proves that Solari, after his return from Venice, in the years 1493 and 1494, must have been strongly influenced by the great Florentine. But Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle see in this picture, besides the influence of Leonardo, that of Andrea del Verocchio (?) and the Venetian School; to them this picture is a mixture of Florentine, Lombard, and Venetian impressions; nay, further, the landscape in the background reminds them more especially of Previtali's landscapes.²

¹ This interesting picture for art-history was lately, out of mere ignorance, placed in the dark corridor leading to the Oggionni Gallery. The Madonna wears an antiquated cap, similar to those with which Bramantino and also Gaudenzio Ferrari adorned the heads of their women. In the collection of Marquis Trivulzi at Milan one sees a male portrait, bas-relief, by Christopher Solari, which strongly recalls the painted portraits of his brother Andrew.

² Previtali may have been about fourteen or fifteen years old in 1495.

But I do not mean to follow these gentlemen on this dangerous road of influences and resemblances, for it generally leads into a thicket of thorns.

The collection of Signor Poldi-Pezzoli, at Milan, possesses two tablets of 1499, with the Baptist and St. Catherine, fragments of a triptych, signed "Andreas Mediolanensis," therefore not painted in Milan. The Baptist is very Leonardesque; the St. Catherine, on the contrary, unadulterated Lombardesque.¹ Then comes a small "Crucifixion," No. 396, of the Louvre Gallery, likewise signed "A. Mediolanensis fa. 1503." And the same period, *i.e.*, the years 1503 and 1504, may very well have produced the portrait No. 395 in the same gallery. This picture has of late been taken for a likeness of Charles d'Amboise, the French governor of the Milanese. It represents a man of about thirty-eight, with the Order of St. Michael attached to his cap; in the background a view of the snow-covered Alps, as seen from Milan. The workmanship is delicate, but difficult to distinguish through the dirty varnish. In 1505 Solari painted the portrait of his friend, John Christopher Longoni, No. 734 of the National Gallery, London.² To the same Milanese period, that is, before his journey to France, I assign a portrait of a lady, now in possession of Marchese Emanuele d'Adda, at Milan, where it is ascribed to Boltraffio. Likewise the so-called "Vierge au coussin vert" of the Louvre Gallery.³

¹ A St. Catherine in a picture of Macrino d'Alba, of the year 1506 (Turin Pinacothec), recalls vividly this Catherine of Solari.

² Of the year 1505 is also the "Christ with the Cross," in possession of the painter Galgani at Siena. This, too, was probably painted, if not at Milan, yet in the Milanese; not at Florence, as Calvi assumes, in order to draw from it his further conclusions; for in the same year Solario paints his friend Longoni at Milan.

³ The "Vierge au coussin vert," the "Crucifixion" (No. 396, Louvre),

In the middle of the year 1507 Solari travelled from Milan to France, with letters of introduction from Chaumont to his uncle, Cardinal George of Amboise, for whom Andrea Solari accordingly worked for two years at Gaillon. The ambitious Cardinal, who hoped to attain the papal dignity on the death of Pius III., had intimated to his nephew, the representative of Louis XII. at Milan, his desire to entrust the decoration of his chapel at Gaillon to the great Leonardo da Vinci. But Leonardo was at that time so taken up with fortification and hydraulic works at Milan, that he could not even find time to paint a Madonna for King Louis.¹ Instead of Leonardo, therefore, Chaumont sent him Andrea Solari, whom he rightly considered to be, after the great Florentine, the ablest master then living in the Milanese. Andrea Solari completed his work at Château Gaillon in September of the year 1509.

Of the year 1507 is also that unpleasing picture, "The Head of John the Baptist on a Charger" (a favourite subject with Milanese painters of that period), signed: "ANDREAS DE SOLARIO, 1507." This picture he probably brought with him from Milan (Louvre Gallery, No. 397). It has not yet been discovered whether Solari remained any time in France after finishing his work at Château Gaillon. That, before returning home, he spent some

and the "Severed Head of John the Baptist" (No. 397, Louvre), all bear the same inscription, "ANDREAS DE SOLARIO FA." The last-named picture is of the year 1507, and much more negligent, both in drawing and modelling, than the celebrated "*Vierge au coussin vert*," which may very likely have been painted a few years earlier. He may, therefore, have brought these pictures to France with him. He afterwards left the "*Vierge au coussin vert*" to a convent at Blois. I have seen several northern copies of this picture, one in private possession at Bergamo, another in the Town Museum of Leipzig, and others.

¹ See Gaye, "*Carteggio, &c.*," vol. ii. pp. 94, 95, and 96.

time in Flanders, probably at Antwerp, seems to me a not unlikely hypothesis. Several of his paintings, *e.g.*, the "Herodias" of the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, and the "Christ bearing the Cross" of the Borghese Gallery at Rome, have to my eyes so pronounced a Flemish character, and recall so strongly the style of Quintin Matsys and his school, that they look at first sight like Flemish works.

In 1515 Solari appears to have been at Milan again, or at least in Italy. We see it in the workmanship of the fine, out-and-out Milanese painting in the Poldi collection at Milan. It bears the signature, "Andreas de Solario mediolanen. f. 1515."

From that time forward we hear nothing of him. That he painted the large altar-piece for the Carthusian church near Pavia (now exhibited in the new sacristy there), after 1515, is more than probable, especially as we are told that the upper part of the picture was left unfinished, and that it was completed (perhaps only restored) by Bernardino Campi about 1576. Be that as it may, I certainly cannot admit the statement repeated by G. Calvi, that Andrea Solari, about 1513, accompanied Andrea da Salerno (Sabbatini) to South Italy (from where?), and that the two together painted a chapel of the St. Gaudenzio church at Naples. (See "Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere dei principali architetti, scultori e pittori che fiorirono in Milano durante il regno dei Visconti e degli Sforza, raccolte ed esposte da Girolamo Calvi, Milano, Tipografia Agnelli, 1865," p. 277.) Here Andrea da Salerno may probably have been confounded with Cesare da Sesto, of whom this latter Andrea, I certainly think, was a hanger-on.

Two male portraits by Solario I should like to mention here. One of them may, perhaps, have been painted after 1515; I mean the full-face portrait exhibited under the

name of Leonardo da Vinci, in the collection of Duke Scotti, at Milan. The man has a refined look, a keen eye, and a still more resolute mouth. In the Scotti palace it is thought to be the likeness of Chancellor Morone; and I think Morone was not promoted to be Grand Chancellor till the year 1518.¹ The other portrait is in the possession of Count Castelbarco, at Milan: it is said to represent Cæsar Borgia (?), and at the Casa Castelbarco it is ascribed to Raphael Sanzio. Both pictures are much disfigured by repainting.

I have still to mention two more pictures of Lombard origin. They hang in Room 6, No. 537 and 543, and represent, the one, St. Ambrose, the other, St. Louis of Toulouse. They are indeed assigned, though dubiously, to Antonio Solario, called *Lo Zingaro*;² but belong, according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and in my own opinion, to a Lombardo-Pavian master. It seems very clear that the author of this picture must have stood in an intimate relation to Pier Francesco Sacchi. But I do not venture to assert, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do, that the two saints must be ascribed to Sacchi's pupil and imitator, Cesare Magni.

¹ Jerome Morone was born in 1470, and died in 1529. The portrait represents a man bordering on fifty; so that Solari must have painted him about 1518-20. It may therefore be really a portrait of Chancellor Morone.

² A Neapolitan painter called *Zingaro* may indeed have existed, but no authentic works by him are known to me. If the frescoes in the cloisters of St. Severino at Naples (quite disfigured lately by repainting) are really by him, as is generally supposed, he must be regarded as a pupil of Pinturicchio: in any case, therefore, as a painter of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

4. THE TUSCANS.

The old Florentines are better represented at the Munich Gallery than the Ferrarese and the Lombards.

The four small panels in Small Room 17, Nos. 1204, 1205, 1207, and 1208, on which the pious monk GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE has depicted incidents from the lives of Saints Cosmas and Damian, are undoubtedly among the best works of this delightful master, whose *naïveté* amounts to genius. The lunette (No. 1203), however, with God the Father surrounded by several rows of musical and adoring angels, is not by him; it belongs apparently to a much later time, and can only be regarded as a copy after Fra Angelico. Of the same opinion are Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, a young Florentine contemporary of Fra Angelico, was a friar too, but the cowl of this Carmelite concealed a very different temper from that of the pious Dominican.

Left parentless, the restless, unruly boy was consigned to the convent when quite young, and stamped a monk, a vocation for which wise mother Nature had never moulded him. But whenever his hasty, passionate temperament led him into serious embarrassments, his eminent artistic talent always came to the rescue, and set him right again. Masaccio may be regarded as his real master, for his epoch-marking frescoes in the Carmelite convent at Florence were the model on which young Filippo formed himself. And, in fact, the modelling of the heads, and the shapes of the hands in the youthful works of Fra Filippo, put one

strongly in mind of Masaccio. His chief work is the frescoes in the choir of Prato cathedral. They represent, on one wall, the life and martyrdom of St. Stephen; on the other, those of St. John the Baptist. These magnificent paintings were begun in 1456, and completed in 1464; they were, therefore, executed about the same time as the equally celebrated wall-paintings by Mantegna in the Capella degli Eremitani at Padua.

Whoever would learn to know the aspirations and artistic power of that period in its highest utterances, has only to study these two wall-paintings, and then compare the work of the Florentine with that of the Paduan. What captivates us most of all in the representations of these two masters is the character in their art. If we are carried away by Fra Filippo's grandeur of conception, and his pure dramatic vividness, we are enthralled, on the other hand, by Mantegna's greater fulness of expression and his perfect execution. Both works are among the highest that fifteenth century art brought forth in Italy.

The Munich Gallery possesses two pictures by Fra Filippo; one hangs in Room 6 (No. 554), and represents the "Annunciation;" the other, a Madonna seated, with the Infant Christ in her lap, in the same room (No. 1169). The first is a good specimen of the master, but hangs too high for the spectator; Fra Filippo has treated the same subject more than once (church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, Doria Gallery at Rome). The dramatic characterization, first introduced into painting by Masolino and his pupil Masaccio, and so brilliantly developed and perfected by Fra Filippo, found its most vigorous and intellectual exponent in Fra Filippo's pupil, the eminent ALESSANDRO BOTTICELLI of Florence, an artist whom we have only just begun to appreciate again as he deserves. The Munich Gallery

has only one work by him, a so-called "Pietà," or "Mourning over Christ." Mary, on whose lap the body rests, is fainting, and is supported by St. John, while two holy women wet the feet and head of Christ with their tears, and a third stands behind, veiled, holding three arrows in her hand.

These figures, nearly life-size, are all as living as they can be, and in their several ways take the most heartfelt interest in what is going on. Two pictures by FILIPPINO LIPPI, the son of Fra Filippo and scholar of Botticelli, which hang in the same room (6), are also good works, full of character. One of them, No. 563 ("Christ with five wounds appearing to his Mother Mary"), is correctly attributed in the catalogue; the second, No. 538, is erroneously ascribed to Domenico Ghirlandajo. It represents a "Pietà;" the dead Christ reposes in the lap of his divine Mother, on one side the two St. John's, the Baptist still vividly recalling the master Botticelli: on the other side St. James and St. Magdalen; in the clouds three angels with the instruments of the passion; in the background a beautiful landscape. Already attributed to Filippino by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 451).

The three large panel pictures by DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO, Room 6, Nos. 556, 557, and 558, are undoubtedly among the most important works of Florentine masters whose possession the Munich Gallery can boast. The first of them represents "St. Catherine of Siena;" the second, Mary, in a glory of flame, betwixt adoring angels and seraph-heads, worshipped by St. Dominic, the two St. John's, and the archangel Michael; and the third St. Laurence, in a rich deacon's dress, with the gridiron and palm-branch. These three panels, together with three others by the same master (now in the Berlin Gallery),

once formed a large altar-piece which adorned the choir of the convent-church of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence. The panel-picture in the same room (6) assigned to ANTONIO DEL VERROCCHIO, with its three clumsy archangels, is not the work of any master, but belongs to a quite inferior Florentine of about the second half of the fifteenth century. Also the other little picture in the Small Room 17, No. 1163, which was formerly ascribed to Verrocchio, but is now described in the catalogue as a copy of a picture by Lorenzo di Credi, is, in my opinion, nothing but a poor imitation of a painting in the Borghese Gallery (Room 1), which passes there under the name of Lorenzo Credi,¹ but really belongs to a pupil of his, by whom the Berlin Gallery (under the name of A. Verrocchio) possesses a good Madonna picture (No. 104), and the Pitti Gallery at Florence a Holy Family (No. 354); by whom also there is a tondo in this gallery, representing the Adoration of the Infant Christ (Room 9, No. 553).

If we could trust the catalogue, we should have in store for us the agreeable surprise of meeting, somewhere on the walls of the gallery, with works by the great FRA BARTOLOMMEO or BACCIO DELLA PORTA; but how are we to discover them, without Dr. Marggraff's catalogue in our hand?

In Room 9, No. 551, there is a picture representing Mary with the Infant Jesus on her lap, seated before a green curtain. Dr. Marggraff speaks of it as being painted in the manner of Fra Bartolommeo; Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii. 475) are reminded by it, partly of Michele di Ridolfo, partly of Puligo, yet also of the Brescianini of

¹ This fine picture (No. 54) has been attributed to Sodoma by Mr. Jansen in his monograph on that master.

Siena. I for my part am convinced that it is the work of ANDREA DEL BRESCIANINO, or DEL BRESCIA,¹ as Vasari calls him. In the year 1525 he, with his brother Raphael, moved from Siena to Florence, and there studied the paintings of Fra Bartolommeo, which he tried to imitate. A work by him of the same period is in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, No. 1205.

Alas! we must also re-christen another picture (No. 1171, in the Small Room 18), which the former catalogue ascribed to Fra Bartolommeo, and hand it over, if not to Fr. Granacci himself, yet certainly to his school.² In his revised catalogue Dr. Marggraff assigns it to a Florentine master, "who may have felt the influence of the Raphaelite idealism." Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, are doubtful whether they ought not to ascribe it to Michele di Ridolfo (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 475).

The third supposed work of Fra Bartolommeo hangs in the same small room (No. 1189), and represents the Holy Virgin, with the boy Jesus standing on her knee.

Dr. Marggraff explains that this uninteresting picture is a so-called *pasticcio*, *i.e.*, a late imitation of Raphael, and I am glad to be able to share his opinion. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are disposed to see in it a later replica of Giovanni Spagna (iii. 327).

Besides these supposititious works of Fra Bartolommeo there is in this collection a much repainted, yet genuine, "Annunciation" (Room 9, No. 545), by MARIOTTO ALBER-

¹ His family name was Puccinelli; his father was from Brescia, and therefore Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe they recognise in this painting the influence of V. Civerchio (iii. 401).

² The holy Virgin, kneeling, adores the Infant Christ, who lies on the earth; opposite to her St. Joseph, sitting on the ground; landscape in the background.

TINELLI, the friend and fellow-pupil of Baccio della Porta, whose better works, paintings as well as drawings, are often confounded with those of the Dominican, *e.g.*, to give an instance accessible to every one, the magnificent little triptych in the Poldi collection at Milan: in the centre, Mary with the Child; on the two wings, St. Catherine and St. Barbara; on the outside, grey in grey, the angelic salutation. This fine painting, executed with great love by Albertinelli, was for a long time ascribed to Raphael, but has latterly been assigned to Bartolommeo, and is described as his by Passavant (ii. 407), by Pater Marchese (ii. 48), and even by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii. 477). This picture is in my opinion an indisputably genuine work of M. Albertinelli.

But I see that I have nearly forgotten to mention among the Tuscan masters one of their brightest stars, GIOTTO DA BONDONE. This gallery possesses, according to the catalogue, three interesting pictures by him, which hang in the Small Room 19, Nos. 1148, 1152, and 1155. The first two belong to a series of small panels, which, Vasari says, Giotto painted for the shrines in the sacristy of the church of Santa Croce at Florence; the greater number of them are to be found in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, two have found their way to the Berlin Gallery, and two others are here before our eyes. One of these two, No. 1148, represents the Last Supper; the other, No. 1152, Christ on the Cross, lamented by the Saints Francis, Mary with the holy women, John, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, a priest and a nun. Baron von Rumohr considered these little pictures to be, like those at Florence and Berlin, genuine paintings executed by Giotto. To Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary (i., 342), the "Last Supper" alone appears to be

a work of the school of Giotto; on the other two they express no opinion, but are satisfied with mentioning them generally as very damaged pictures. To my belief, both the "Supper" and the "Christ on the Cross" are works of a very able scholar of Giotto (atelier pictures), the latter especially showing great delicacy of execution, and therein approaching very near the style of the master.

If Dr. Marggraff had not declared, even in his revised catalogue, that the small pictures painted in chiaroscuro in Room 20, Nos. 1174, 1175, 1185, 1186, were preliminary sketches in oil by Andrea del Sarto to some of his well-known frescoes in the cross passage of the Compagnia dello Scalzo at Florence, I should not have deemed it necessary to warn the young student that, like the similar oil-sketches presented to the Uffizi Gallery by the sculptor Santarelli in our own days, they are only late copies of the frescoes. This ought to be obvious to any one who is even superficially acquainted with the style of that genial Florentine. The Munich Gallery does not possess one original work by Andrea del Sarto.

5. THE UMBRIANS.

Finally, we have yet to examine the works of the Umbrian or, more correctly, Peruginian school of painters contained in the Munich Gallery. In Room 6 there hangs, amongst others, a Madonna, No. 550, which at the very first glance presents itself to us as a work of PIETRO PERUGINO. And yet Dr. Marggraff does not seem fully satisfied of its genuineness. It must be admitted that the picture is

much effaced, and is moreover an inferior specimen of the master; but no one who is acquainted with the style of this painter, so unequal in his later years, will dispute that the forms and characteristics peculiar to Perugino are present in this picture, as also in the two other paintings ascribed to him in this room, No. 561 and 590.¹ As my judgment on this point, as well as on the three pictures, coincides with that of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii., 254-5), I may hope to have won at least this time the approbation of the other writers on art.

In our estimate of the magnificent picture, No. 561, it is even vouchsafed us for once to agree heartily with Dr. Marggraff. It is indeed an admirable work of the master. Though in several places injured by cleaning, the picture may be considered as in tolerably good preservation. It represents the Holy Virgin, accompanied by two angels, appearing to St. Bernard, who sits at his reading-desk in an open hall, with St. Bartholomew and another saint standing behind him.

Vasari, in the hurry of his manifold labours, ascribes this picture, probably through inadvertence, to Raffaellino del Garbo (ediz. Lemonnier, vii., 193); and, behold, the Florentine commentators are at once ready to take this Munich picture from Perugino, and give it to Raffaellino del Garbo. That is not the way to deal with Art-history. Such absurd results we must expect to arrive at if we will pronounce opinions on things we have never seen. It is true, Raffaellino del Garbo seems to have painted a picture with the same subject and the same composition as this from the hand of Perugino; at least the British

¹ This picture represents the Virgin Mary worshipping the Child, who lies on the ground before her, the Evangelist St. John and St. Nicolaus standing on both sides.

Museum possesses a well-executed washed drawing,¹ in which the Madonna with two angels appears to St. Bernard, as he sits at his reading-desk. I am not able to say whether Raffaellino del Garbo ever carried out this sketch of his in a painting, nor where such a painting is to be found. But the first idea, both of this drawing by Raffaellino del Garbo and of the painting by P. Perugino, must be sought in that magnificent picture by Filippino Lippi in the Badia at Florence, a true marvel of Florentine art, which must also have been present to the mind of young Fra Bartolommeo when he represented the same subject in a picture now likewise in the Academy² at Florence. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as a matter of course, give this Munich picture to Perugino, but imagine that it may very likely be a copy³ of the painting described as Raffaellino del Garbo's by Vasari, as though Vasari's dictum on the authorship of a picture were a thing to be taken on trust.

No. 590 is again one of Perugino's weaker efforts; it is superficially conceived, drawn, and painted. We have yet to discuss the two celebrated Predellas which have found a place in the small Room 9, Nos. 1173, 1185, and have for

¹ Photograph, by Braun, 28, under the false name of Filippino Lippi.

² Of the two drawings in the Uffizi collection to which the Florentine commentators on Vasari appeal, one (Case 439) is ascribed to P. Perugino, but seems to me a mere copy from him; the other (case 436), though ascribed at Florence to Raffaellino del Garbo, is in my eyes simply another copy from the same picture of Perugino's. A fine Tondo by Raffaellino del Garbo is in the collection of Mr. W. Graham. It represents the Virgin with the Infant Christ, to whom an angel offers a pomegranate. Another angel and the infant St. John are on the other side; landscape in the background.

³ "There is a copy of this vision (of St. Bernard) at St. Spirito at Florence, the original being given by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo."

years attracted the attention of the greatest connoisseurs of Germany, Italy, and England. On one side stand the most renowned German authorities on Raphael, viz., Rumohr and Passavant, who ascribe these Predellas to the young Raphael; on the other side the equally celebrated authorities of England and Italy, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in whose opinion they are merely works by P. Perugino. In such "conjuncture of mighty opposites" a wise man might well hold his peace and go his ways, lest he run the risk of being set down as a heretic by the great public for his isolated opinion. But as I am only anxious for the truth, and as, moreover, I do not pretend to be an authority on the science of art, but only an aspirant for knowledge, who little cares for the opinion of the great public, more especially as on such matters there is and can be no public opinion, I may as well frankly express my conviction, that both the "Baptism" and "Resurrection of Christ" (Nos. 1173, 1185), seem to me not works of P. Perugino, and still less of young Raffael Sanzio of Urbino. The composition, as well as the excellent drawings for these fine Predellas, may certainly be traced back to P. Perugino, as well as the composition for the large picture, "The Resurrection of Christ" in the Gallery of the Vatican,¹ with which one of these small pictures is almost identical.² But in the execution of these Predellas I think I can plainly detect the hand and workmanship of

¹ There declared to be the joint work of P. Perugino and young Raphael, but, in my opinion, likewise conceived by Perugino and executed by his assistant Giovanni Spagna.

² The Christ in this picture at Munich, No. 1185, strongly reminds one of that in the Vatican; then, the modelling of the lower part of the leg in the same figure is stiff and hard, as it is in some of those Muses which were brought to the Gallery of the Capitol from Magliana Castle, and are now generally acknowledged as Spagna's works.

GIOVANNI SPAGNA. I look upon Spagna as a pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo ; his way of illumining the edge of his clouds, for instance (to mention but one characteristic out of many), is exactly that of Fiorenzo,¹ and altogether different from Perugino's manner of forming and colouring clouds. Giovanni Spagna seems to have entered Perugino's atelier at a later time, and then not as a pupil, but as an assistant ; and as such Pietro may have entrusted to him the execution of these Predellas.

Let us now examine the works in this gallery that bear the name of RAFFAELE SANZIO. One of them we find in the same small room. It is the portrait of a young man, No. 1179, with a swollen nose and black cap. By his dress, says Passavant (i., 71), this youth must have belonged to a patrician family of Florence, and that European authority on matters Raphaelite adds that the portrait was painted by young Raphael during his first stay at Florence. Connoisseurs like Ignatius Hugford, an English painter, and Raphael Mengs, the great Saxon artist and art-critic, had previously declared this Raphael genuine. And to make matters sure, the painter's name is to be seen on the yellow buckles of the under garment :

RAPHAELLO (sic) VRBINAS. FEC.

The picture in its present condition appears to me to have not one stroke of Raphael's in it. Whether before restoration it could have any pretensions to so noble a parentage is more than I dare affirm. That the signature is a palpable forgery has already been remarked by Dr. Marggraff, who

¹ Compare the numerous pictures by him in the Municipal Gallery of Perugia ; in Germany, the Städel Institute has a superior work of his, No. 15. The picture No. 1032 in the National Gallery, representing Christ's agony in the garden, is in my opinion another work of Spagna's.

seems to share my opinion on this lifeless painting.¹ I am likewise compelled to send into quarantine a second so-called Raphael, No. 1133, small Room 18. This picture represents the head of a youthful St. John, and is painted on tiles *al fresco*. Mr. Marggraff is not sure what to think of this pretended *opus Raphaelis*. The late Passavant thought it a study, an experiment in fresco painting, before Raphael undertook the execution of the fresco at St. Severo, Perugia (i., 72).

That might be all very well, if only this trumpery head showed the least trace of Raphael's manner. But, closely examined, how un-Raphaellesque are, for instance, those spiritless and tasteless curls, how hard and devoid of all grace the modelling of the neck! I must confess, this St. John looks to me highly suspicious, and I almost fear our "experiment in fresco-painting by Raphael" will turn out to be a mere modern counterfeit.

In the small Room 19 (No. 1206) is exhibited the world-renowned "*Madonna de' Tempi*," *i.e.*, of the Casa Tempi at Florence. According to Passavant this early work of Raphael was painted in 1506, that is, the time when he painted the so-called "*Madonna in the meadow*" in the Belvedere, Vienna. To me the picture seems to belong to a still earlier period of the young master, to about the time in which he produced his so-called "*Madonna del Granduca*" of the Pitti Gallery at Florence; anyhow, earlier than the "*Madonna in the meadow*," or the "*Madonna degli Ansidei*." Unfortunately, this picture was left forgotten for a long time at the Tempi House, and was afterwards much damaged by unskilful restoration, so that

¹ A worthy companion-picture of this, the portrait of a youth with long hair, we find at Hampton Court, No. 710, also under the name of Raphael.

it is hardly enjoyable in its present state. The landscape is cleaned off, the mouth of Mary is quite disfigured, and looks as if the Holy Virgin were suffering from toothache; forehead and nose have also lost their original contours; the lids of the left eye are likewise spoilt. Well preserved, on the contrary, is the head of the Infant Christ, all but the outline of the left cheek. The modelling of the hands is like that in the "*Madonna del Granduca*," only they have an unfinished look. But in spite of all this, the "*Madonna de' Tempi*" is to my eyes the most Raphael-esque work in this gallery. The Fabre Museum at Montpellier possesses the cartoon for this picture; it is drawn on green paper, in black chalk, and is heightened with white; but in so shocking a condition, that it may be almost regarded as lost.

To examine the other paintings of Raphael in this gallery we must go to Room 9, where they are exhibited under Nos. 534, 547, and 585.

The first of these three pictures has the name of "*The Madonna of Casa Canigiani*" (at Florence). Passavant gives as its date the year 1506, a time when Raphael was at Florence, working at his cartoon for the "*Entombment*" for Atalanta Baglioni of Perugia.¹ Before the unfortunate cleaning and repainting of this picture, the name of the master, and the date 1506, is said to have been legible on the seam of the Virgin's dress.

A pen-and-ink drawing for this picture is in the Albertina at Vienna, and a copy of that in the collection of drawings at Oxford; another original drawing, with some modifications, is said to be in the Duke d'Aumale's possession. Passavant rightly remarks, that in this picture the

¹ Now at the Borghese Gallery in Rome.

drawing recalls most of all that of Raphael's "Entombment" at the Borghese Gallery. At the same time, both drawing and modelling appear to me much weaker in this painting than in the celebrated picture at Rome. There are several old copies of this Holy Family: one is to be found in the Rinuccini Gallery at Florence, done by a Flemish painter,¹ and now in the possession of Rinuccini's heirs. In the catalogue of that gallery, compiled by Signor Milanese, one of the commentators in the Lemonnier edition of Vasari, the Flemish copy has been praised up as an original.²

The Munich "Madonna di Casa Canigiani" is so disfigured by bad restoration, that on first seeing it we know not what to think; it is only after closely examining the details of form that we come to the conviction that the picture was not only composed by Raphael, but partly painted by him; and that it belongs to that class of his works which he executed with the help of others,³ such as the "Entombment" at the Borghese Gallery, the so-called "Madonna di Casa Colonna" at the Berlin Gallery, the "Madonna Nicolini" at Lord Cowper's, &c. Not only have the transparence and clearness of the colours disappeared through infamous repainting, but portions of the figures have been so defaced and distorted that one can no longer detect in it even the hand, still less the mind, of Raphael. For instance, to point out a few particulars: the torso and the feet, as well as the right arm, of the infant

¹ This is evident from the hard, lifeless drawing, and the treatment of the landscape in the background.

² *Alcuni quadri della Galleria Rinuccini descritte e illustrati.* (Firenze, Le Monnier, 1852.)

³ His letter to Francia proves that Raphael already had assistants at that time. See Vasari, vi. p. 16, ediz. Le Monnier, 1850.

Christ, and the mass of hair on the head of the infant St. John. The right hand of St. Anne is not Raphaelesque in its modelling (this is very conspicuous in the thumb), and the drawing of her right foot is defective. The same with the feet of St. Joseph. Raphaelesque style and character are best preserved in the head of the infant Jesus. The Grand Duke Cosimo III. gave this picture to his daughter Anna Maria de' Medici, as a wedding present, on her departure for Germany.

As for the second Madonna of Raphael (No. 547), it appears likewise to have been roughly handled by the restorers, and to such a degree that it can hardly be distinguished from a copy. It represents Mary seen in profile; she has her right arm round the infant Jesus sitting in her lap, while her left is thrown round the neck of the infant St. John, who stands beside her holding the cross; in the background to the left is a green curtain, from which this Madonna takes its name of "della tenda." This picture is nothing but a modified replica of the so-called "Madonna della seggiola" in the Pitti Palace at Florence. A replica of this Munich picture is in the Turin Gallery—atelier work.

There remains one more picture in this room that is ascribed to Raphael (No. 585), and that is the far-famed portrait of Bindo Altoviti of Florence. Baron Rumohr ("Ital. Forsch." iii., 109) dwells with special delight on this picture, which he considers one of Raphael's finest paintings, not, however, as being a portrait of Altoviti, but of Raphael himself. Passavant, on the contrary (ii., 117), maintains that it cannot have been painted before 1512, that it represents a young man of about twenty-two, and that Bindo Altoviti, born September 26, 1490, was exactly that age in 1512. And the same critic extols the wonder-

fully good preservation of this painting. The Florentine commentators of Vasari¹ also remark, that for its colouring this celebrated portrait is considered the best of all Raphael's pictures. Vasari himself does not seem to have seen this picture with his own eyes, for he says: "he painted the portrait of Bindo Altoviti, who was then young, and the portrait is said to be wonderfully beautiful (*che è tenuto stupendissimo*)."

Now I must frankly confess that this universally celebrated picture has always left me quite cold; and at my very last visit to Munich, with the best of will, I could get up no enthusiasm for it. Either I am crazed, or all my predecessors are fundamentally mistaken. I cannot help it, I must pronounce this picture *repainted*. That violet-red of the flesh in which not a stroke of the brush can be discerned, that green background, those untransparent black shadows, belong, I have not a doubt of it, to a later painter. It also strikes me that there are no cracks or strains to be detected in the painting. I can only wish, therefore, that this celebrated portrait could be subjected to the Pettenkoffer resurrection-process. It could not lose by it.

I am afraid my readers have long since grown weary of this constant antagonism to Dr. Marggraff; and I confess the task has not been a pleasant one to myself. But should these critical studies come into the hands of this gentleman, so celebrated in his own country, I should be very sorry if he felt offended by my contradictions. I do not know him personally, but I know how highly he is respected by his government; and as to my contradictory utterances, I can only assure him that I do not myself

¹ Ediz. Le Monnier, "Life of Raffaele d'Urbino," 8, 32, foot note 2.

attach more weight to these my judgments and corrections, than to call them studies, and no more than studies ; that, moreover, they are not addressed to art-critics already fully persuaded in their own mind, but to my young countrymen who take interest in such studies, so that, in addition to the numerous German, English, French, and Russian books on art, they may also have an Italian guide at hand, when visiting the German collections. Each nation has its own way of looking at everything, and consequently at works of art ; and an Italian eye may see things in an Italian painting or drawing that did not strike a French or German eye, and *vice versâ*.

6. DRAWINGS BY ITALIAN MASTERS IN THE ENGRAVINGS ROOM.

In several rooms on the ground-floor of the Munich Gallery, there is exhibited a celebrated collection of engravings and drawings. Among the latter, the drawings of Italian Old Masters are better and more numerous represented than in any other collection of Germany—except Vienna with its splendid Albertina. In what follows I restrict myself to describing those cartoons which appear to me to be *genuine*. In examining the drawings by Italian masters, I should have liked to follow the same rule as I did with the pictures, that is, to arrange them according to schools, and to bring them in succession before the student ; but on second thoughts I was convinced that this arrangement would be very tedious work for those who wished to assure themselves with their own eyes of the accuracy of my judgments, as they would have to pass from one volume to another every

time ; for unhappily the drawings, like the pictures, are put together pell-mell. The drawings are spread over about forty-six volumes, without any principle of classification.

Vol. 50. 1. LEONARDO DA VINCI. Of the four drawings attributed to this master, I only recognize as genuine the sheet with the three studies of machines and written explanation subjoined. Drawing in pen-and-ink, with the strokes from left to right.

2. ANDREA MANTEGNA. *a.* "Christ between St. Andrew and Longinus," with the inscription : *PIO ET IMMORTALI DEO* ; washed pen-and-ink drawing, very fine, and I believe genuine. Probably drawn as a sketch for the well-known engraving.

b. Mucius Scaevola, in *chiaroscuro*, water-colour on canvas, appears to me to be also by Mantegna himself.

c. One of those Muses whom we see in his well-known painting of "Parnassus" in the Louvre. Pen-and-ink, sepia and chalk. Appears to me to be a copy. Another of these Muses, drawn in the same manner as the above, and also of the same size, is in the possession of Mr. Carlo Prayer at Milan.¹

¹ I will here point out to my young friends a few genuine drawings by Mantegna, and recommend them for study. They are photographed by Braun in Dornach, and therefore accessible to all :

a. "Mary with the Infant Christ ;" washed drawing ; very fine. No. 57 in Braun's catalogue.

b. Study for "Christ's Resurrection ;" drawing in water-colours. No. 56.

c. The so-called "Calumny of Apelles ;" water-colour drawing, heightened with chalk. No. 59.

d. "Mars, Diana and Venus ;" water-colour drawing. No. 58.

e. "Judith," water-colour drawing ; excellent.

The first four are in the British Museum, the fifth in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. An enlarged copy of this last is in the Louvre Collection, there said to be an original.

As it is still a common thing to mistake Mantegna for his brother-in-law Giovanni Bellini, and *vice versâ*, e.g., in the well-known pen-and-ink sketch representing the "Pietà," at the Academy of Venice, I take this opportunity of pointing out to my young friends, as an aid to



Shape of Ear in A. Mantegna.



Shape of Ear in G. Bellini.



Shape of Hand in G. Bellini during his so-called Mantegnesque period (about 1460-1475).

identification, the notion each master has of the shape of an *Ear* and that of a *Hand*.

A fourth drawing at Munich, likewise ascribed to Mantegna, belongs rather to LIBERALE DA VERONA. It is the figure of an apostle, drawn in pen-and-ink, signed

below as a Mantegna; fine and characteristic of the Veronese master.¹

3. ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO. Drawing in pen-and-ink. Study of the different proportions in one of the bronze horses of St. Mark's at Venice. Whether this drawing belongs to Verrocchio, to Al. Leopardi, or to some other sculptor of that time, will be no easy matter to decide.

11. FRANCESCO CAROTTO. Washed drawing, representing the Holy Family, signed above Carazzi, and in truth a work of LODOVICO CARACCI, and not Carotto.



Usual shape of Hand in A. Mantegna.

12. DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO. A very superior drawing with the pen, representing a baptism (?) in a temple in the presence of many persons. Very characteristic of the master. By the same is also a washed drawing on reddish grounded paper, "Two men in Florentine costume, conversing."

¹ According to the Influence-theory, so much the fashion now-a-days in Art-history, one ought to maintain that not only the Veronese Liberale, but also the Florentine Antonio del Pollajuolo (whose drawings are not seldom ascribed to the Paduan), was influenced by Andrea Mantegna, a hypothesis that no reasoning man will admit. All three follow the same taste, and all three, each in his own school, brilliantly represent that stage in the life of Art which I call the epoch of *Character*.

Vol. 51. 1. Among the "Unknown" is a very fine drawing for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza.

This drawing, lightly and boldly outlined with the pen, and shaded with thin sepia, will be recognized by anyone who is at all familiar with the drawings of ANTONIO DEL POLLAJUOLO, as the work of his hand. We see before us an old bald-headed warrior, mounted; under his horse's hoofs lies the enemy, thrown to the ground. The face of the horseman has the well-known features of Francesco Sforza.

This capital drawing may in all probability be one of the two drawings of Antonio del Pollajuolo which Vasari had in his possession, and which, according to his statement, Antonio prepared in competition for the monument that Lodovico il Moro intended erecting at Milan to his great father Francesco:¹ "E si trovò dopo la morte sua (di A. del Pollajuolo) il disegno e modello che a Lodovico Sforza egli avea fatto per la statua a cavallo di Francesco Sforza, duca di Milano; il quale disegno è nel nostro Libro, in due modi: in uno egli ha sotto Verona; nell' altro, egli *tutto armato*, e sopra un basamento pieno di battaglie, fa *saltare il cavallo addosso ad un armato*." Unfortunately this latter sheet, evidently the one before us in the Munich Collection, has been mutilated, the "basamento pieno di battaglie" being lost. The reason why Pollajuolo never executed in metal either of his two designs for Sforza's monument, was apparently something like this:—

Lodovico's elder brother, Duke Galeazzo Maria, had already entertained the idea of erecting a monument at Milan to his glorious father Francesco, and with that view he had commissioned the Milanese sculptors,

¹ Edition Le Monnier, vol. v., 100.

Cristoforo and Antonio Mantegazza, in 1473, to furnish a model of the same. (See G. L. Calvi, "Notizie," &c., p. 34.)

This project failed, from causes unknown to us. But after the death of Galeazzo Maria, his brother Lodovico il Moro took the matter up again, and seems to have opened a competition for the purpose. And among the competitors we find the then celebrated Florentine sculptor Antonio del Pollajuolo. The prize, however, must have been awarded, not to him, but to Leonardo da Vinci. In this way we get a simple explanation of the following words in Leonardo's well-known letter to the Moro: "Ancora si potrà dare opera al cavello di bronzo, che sarà gloria immortale et eterno onore della felica memoria del Signor vostro Padre, et della inclita casa Sforzesca."

This letter seems to me to have been sent from Florence about 1484, before Leonardo departed for Milan. The competition-prize may already have been won some years before, perhaps at a time when the Duke did not see his way to proceeding at once with the realization of Leonardo's model. But in 1484, when Leonardo's master Verrocchio was called away to Venice, there to cast in metal his equestrian statue of B. Colleoni, Duke Lodovico, always jealous of the Venetian Signoria, may have been the more impressed by Leonardo's admonition, and induced at length to bring him over to Milan. Leonardo da Vinci can hardly have come to the Lombard capital before 1485; certainly not in 1483, as Amoretti states.

It is true, Sabbà da Castiglione (Ricardi, p. 109) says: "la forma (*i.e.* model) del cavallo, intorno a cui Leonardo avea sedici (16) anni continui consumati, etc." And counting back from the year 1499, when Leonardo left Milan, sixteen years bring us to 1483. But this report of

Castiglione is to be taken *cum grano salis*, as Leonardo, while yet at Florence, must, in addition to the drawings, have also made a model in wax; so that the sixteen years spoken of would include some portion of his previous stay at Florence. Vasari, on the other hand, in his "Life of Giovan Francesco Rustici," whom he knew well personally, says that this painter took lessons from Leonardo da Vinci (Vasari, xii., 1) when his former master Verrocchio had gone to Venice, therefore in or after the year 1484. Of Leonardo's original drawings for the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, there is one in the collection at Windsor Castle. It is a slight sketch in red chalk: the horse's head is represented in two different positions, straight forward, and turned to the left; the horse evidently borrowed from his master Verrocchio's model of the equestrian statue of B. Colleoni. There are in the same collection several more sketches and studies for this equestrian statue by Leonardo, some slightly drawn in black chalk, probably preliminary sketches for the bas-relief on the Sforza monument. One sees four of these riders, in slight outlines, engraved after the drawings of Leonardo, in Signor Luigi Angiolini's rich collection of engravings at Milan.

Of this drawing at Munich, so interesting and so characteristic of Pollajuolo, Mr. Louis Courajod of Paris gave a passing notice in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts" (Nov., 1879), where he assigns the drawing to a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci.

When the printing of this article on the Munich Gallery was some way advanced, I got sight of a pamphlet by Mr. Courajod ("Léonard de Vinci et la statue de Francesco Sforza," 1879), in which the nimble French critic once more (and this time very carefully) examines this Munich

drawing, but only to come round to the same conclusion at last, namely, that the drawing is not by Pollajuolo, but only one of the numerous copies of Leonardo's Sforza monument, proceeding from the Lombard School.

In the first place, says the French savant, there is no proof at all that this Munich drawing is really one of the two possessed by Vasari which he arbitrarily ascribed to Antonio del Pollajuolo; and secondly, this Munich drawing does not show a single characteristic of A. Pollajuolo, whose drawings are easily recognized by their staring rough yellow tints, forming a strong contrast to the delicate, clear, pale yellow colouring of the drawing at Munich. Even the stroke of the pen is not that of Antonio del Pollajuolo.

Whilst I cannot refrain from admiring the great industry and uncommon learning displayed by Mr. Courajod in this Vinci-Sforza dissertation, on the other hand I cannot approve of the spirit manifested in his pamphlet. In all researches, no matter of what kind, erudition alone, without method, can only lead to what the Germans call "not being able to see the wood for the trees."

It appears to me, that for Mr. Courajod there exists no characteristic difference between drawings of the Lombard school and those of the Florentine; in his eyes all drawings of horses, be they of the fifteenth, sixteenth, or even seventeenth century, necessarily proceed, directly or indirectly, from Leonardo da Vinci; out of love to Leonardo, he degrades Andrea del Verrocchio and Antonio del Pollajuolo into mere assistants, without any inventive power of their own; for him Vasari's evidence has no value, even where the statement agrees to a tittle with the object before his eyes, so long as that evidence clashes with the preconceptions of Mr. Courajod. Nay, this

Vinci-mania is carried so far, that the otherwise acute connoisseur, as though in a trance, blindly follows the lead of the amiable rather than judicious Gerli, and with him, does not hesitate to regard a drawing at Milan (which really belongs to a much later time) of the so-called Praxiteles horse on the Quirinal as an original drawing of Leonardo da Vinci. Did it never strike this learned gentleman, that on such a hypothesis he must send his Leonardo trudging to Rome, to enable him there to draw the design for his Sforza monument after the horse of Praxiteles? Hitherto no biographer of Leonardo has given us the slightest hint of such a journey. My own studies convince me that Leonardo can hardly have visited the Eternal City before the year 1502 or 1503. Gaye imparts the following item in his "Carteggio" (ii., 89): "A Leonardo di S. Piero da Vinci paghati per lui a Mariotto Ghalilei, camerlengo in dogana per ghabella d'uno suo fardello di sue veste fatte venire da Roma, 30 Aprile, 1505." From this we may perhaps conclude that Leonardo had been at Rome, and had left some articles of clothing there, which he caused to be sent after him to Florence two or three years after. Probably, this first visit to Rome would fall at the time when Leonardo was in the service of Cæsar Borgia, and had to inspect the papal fortresses. His second journey to the Eternal City took place, we know, in the year 1513. But all this does not touch the heart of the question.

The question is simply this: Whether the Munich drawing is really an original drawing by Antonio Pollajuolo, as I maintain it to be, or only a copy, as Mr. Courajod thinks he has triumphantly established.

There is only one way of settling such a controversy; and that is, to compare unquestionably authentic drawings

by Pollajuolo with the Munich drawing. If these authentic drawings exhibit the same characteristics as the one at Munich, the question is decided in my favour; if the contrary, I am at least so far in the wrong, that without sufficient reason I thought I perceived in this drawing the features peculiar to Pollajuolo.

What is an artist's idiosyncrasy? and how shall we learn to seize and to comprehend it? I answer: By fixing our eye not only on his merits, but also, and more especially, on his *defects*; the latter being much more obvious to the eye than the former, though they are for the most part conditioned by them. (On this point see my articles on the Borghese Gallery in the Von Lützow'sche-Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, vol. ix.). Antonio del Pollajuolo appears to me in all his works as an artist full of energy and character, but devoid of all grace, a gift with which kind nature had endowed his younger contemporary, Leonardo, in the richest measure. But to descend from generals to particulars: I think I may broadly assert, that whereas all genuine drawings by Leonardo are executed either in chalk (red or black), or with the silver-point or the pen, those of Pollajuolo are either done with the pen alone, or firmly outlined with the pen and shaded with sepia. This last manner, in which the Munich drawing of Sforza's statue happens to be executed, ranges through all the shades from a glaring dark yellow (*acre et crue*), to a light delicate pale-yellow (*douce blonde et légèrement blafarde*), according as they have been exposed a shorter or a longer time to the corroding effect of light!

A second characteristic of Pollajuolo is the firm contour in ink with which his always undulating forms of the human body are drawn. Another peculiarity is his claw-like and anything but graceful fingers. Again, in the open

mouths of his passionately vociferating combatants he seldom forgets to show the teeth.

Let us first examine Pollajuolo's well-known engraving, signed with his name, "The Gladiators," and compare the moulding of the human forms in this engraving with the forms in the Munich drawing. Mr. Courajod says the stroke of the pen in this drawing does not in the least correspond to that in the drawings of Pollajuolo. I now request the learned gentleman kindly to compare, for instance, the characteristic contour of the lower part of the leg in Francesco Sforza, with the same contour in some of Pollajuolo's gladiators; also the warrior lying under the hoofs of Francesco Sforza's horse, with the gladiator, likewise fallen on the ground, to the extreme right of the spectator; and unless he is a sinner too hardened in his superstition, he will find a strong family likeness in the formation and position of the left hand in the two men lying on the ground; he will notice too the same form of the bent knee in these two men; and finally, the warrior in the drawing shows his teeth, as several of the gladiators do.

But even the heliotype annexed to the postscript of Mr. Courajod's own little book, p. 43, which represents the much damaged "tracing" (not "copy"), likewise at Munich, of Pollajuolo's original drawing, (in England) known under the name of "Death of Gattamelata," ought surely to have convinced our learned opponent that the author of this drawing was also the author of the Sforza drawing; for in both drawings, the "tracing," as well as the original drawing, we see the same claw-like hand, the same form of the knee, the same contour of the lower part of the leg, the same unmitigated expression of pain.

I should like to recommend to Mr. Courajod for comparison three other characteristic drawings by Polla-

juolo; but as two of these drawings in the Uffizi Collection at Florence are ascribed to Luca Signorelli, and one in the Louvre, No. 516,¹ is classed amongst the "unknown," my French opponent might retort: "See how little you know the master! you would claim for Antonio del Pollajuolo drawings, which all the known art-critics ascribe to Signorelli."

I do not aspire to convert Mr. Louis Courajod to my opinion; but for the instruction of my unprejudiced young countrymen I will mention two more drawings, of which they can get photographs and study them. They are Nos. 1747 and 1744 in Philpot's catalogue at Florence, and represent, the one, a naked Adam looking upwards, the other, a naked Eve sitting and spinning with little Cain leaning against her right leg, and Abel lying on the ground to her left. Both drawings, lightly washed with sepia, appear to me highly characteristic of our Antonio Pollajuolo.

2. GIOVAN ANTONIO BAZZI, called Sodoma. The "Apotheosis of St. Magdalen;" washed drawing, heightened with white. Genuine, but retouched. Another drawing, very fine, is here assigned to Maturino, but I have no hesitation in restoring it to Sodoma. We see here Diana with her companions, chasing into the wood a numerous family of satyrs. Water-colour, the lights brought out with gypsum. Here one recognizes Sodoma chiefly by the serpentine folds of the drapery, and by the oval shape of some of the female heads. It is among the best drawings of this master.

3. The drawings ascribed to RAFFAELLE SANZIO in the

¹ This slightly-washed drawing represents two naked men armed with clubs, seen in front; some art-critics ascribe the drawing to Pesellino (!).

Munich collection, are all exhibited in the first room, under glass. In Munich, as elsewhere, many drawings are assigned to him which have no right to bear the great name. Among genuine drawings by Raphael I reckon: 1. The young man in kneeling posture, with folded hands: pen-and-ink drawing. At the back: 2. St. Ambrose, sitting, the left hand held up. These two exquisite drawings are, however, retouched in some places. 3. The body of a holy bishop lying in state, surrounded by many mourning figures. Lightly sketched with the pen, here and there retouched.¹ Passavant mentions a fourth drawing, representing the "Birth of Venus" (No. 274); but this drawing in red chalk does not seem to me to be genuine. The "Battle after an old bas-relief," likewise mentioned by Passavant as an original drawing, is so much effaced, and rendered so unrecognizable, that I dare not pass an opinion upon it.

Vol. 52. FRA BARTOLOMMEO DELLA PORTA. This collection possesses no less than twenty genuine and good drawings by this great master, and amongst them, several of high excellence; so that Munich has, next to the Uffizi Gallery, the richest collection in the world of drawings by Fra Bartolommeo. From the twenty-four drawings ascribed to him in this Vol. 52, I must, however, deduct six, namely, Nos. 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24; but, on the other hand, assign to him two drawings in chalk in Vol. 55, there ascribed to Zuccari. I will briefly state the subjects of the six that I reject, with my guesses as to their authorship:

(12) Study for a St. Magdalen. (Forgery.)

(20) The Madonna, with outstretched arms, between

¹ See Passavant II. 454, Nos. 271 and 272.

two angels (washed drawing on blue paper): not by Fra Bartolommeo, but a very superior drawing by BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA.¹

(21) Head of a Female Saint, in profile; black chalk (No. 393): belongs more likely to FRA PAOLINO DA PISTOJA, an imitator of Baccio della Porta.

(22) A mother with a sick child (probably a Madonna); black chalk and gypsum. Exquisite in feeling, but unfortunately somewhat defaced. This drawing gives me the impression of being by ANDREA DEL SARTO (No. 1149).

(23) Two Madonnas with the Child; black chalk: probably by SOGLIANI, another imitator of Fra Bartolommeo.

(24) The "Bathing of Mary after her birth" (No. 2590); black chalk: reminds me more of BECCAFUMI of Siena.

I dare say I have put the patience of many a reader to a hard trial. But I cannot refrain from urgently recommending to students the study of drawings. Those who omit it, will always only half know the character of a master.

¹ Genuine drawings by this great master are very rare, and generally they are mistaken for works by the hand of other masters. I venture to point out here some of them preserved in English collections: at Windsor Castle, in a volume containing drawings by old masters, a *Salvator Mundi* and a head of a Madonna; another head of the Madonna in the library of Christ Church College, Oxford, where it is ascribed to Francia, but, in the opinion of Mr. J. C. Robinson, it is the work of one of the Bellini, either Gentile or Giovanni; in the Print Room of the British Museum (Vol. X.), a *St. Christopher with the Infant Christ*.



II. DRESDEN.

THIS magnificent picture-gallery, unique in its way, owes its existence chiefly to the boundless love of art of Augustus III. of Saxony and his eccentric minister, Count Brühl. Its gradual rise and development is related to us, in a cheerful and pleasing way, by Mr. Hübner, in the Preface to his Catalogue.

Through the purchase of one hundred of the finest pictures, selected by connoisseurs out of the picture-collection of Modena, and above all by the nearly simultaneous acquisition of two other celebrated pictures, the so-called Sistine Madonna of Raphael from Piacenza and the Holbein Madonna from the Casa Dolfin at Venice, the fame of this collection spread all over the world; and it soon came to be regarded, and is regarded to the present day, as the richest and most brilliant picture-gallery that exists.

It will therefore be worth every student's while to get an intimate knowledge of this most precious of all collections, to examine it critically picture by picture, and then, arranging it into historical groups according to schools, to compare it with other collections. In that way alone shall we be able rightly to judge and appreciate this rich collection. But here we confine ourselves to the Italian Masters.

The picture collection of Modena, out of which Augustus III. had the hundred pictures chosen for him, had been formed by slow degrees. Most of the pictures, *e.g.*, those of Titian, Paul Veronese, Dosso, and Garofalo, had been brought from Ferrara to Modena by Duke Cesare d'Este, in 1598 and 1599; but the most valuable, such as the four altar-pieces by Correggio, Francis III. brought into the ducal palace, some by force and some by fraud, out of the churches for which they had been painted. In the last century, the example of the ostentatious Louis XIV., called the Great, had proved contagious to all the reigning princes of Europe. Not only a "Versailles," but also a "Louvre," every one of them wished to possess.¹ In the natural course of things, most of the paintings that composed the Modena Gallery belonged to the Lombardo-Venetian schools, especially to those that lay nearest Ferrara and Modena; above all, therefore, to the Ferrara-Bolognese, the Venetian, and the Parmese. Let us, therefore, begin our critical studies with examining the first two of the schools just named, viz., the Ferrarese and the Venetian.

1. THE FERRARESE.

Amongst all the populations of the ancient Æmilia, that piece of land which lies enclosed between the Po, the Apennines, and the Metaurus, the Ferrarese have the most

¹ The deed of sale was signed at Ferrara the 17th Sept., 1745. See: "Notizie di sei dipinti ad olio di Antonio Consetti Modenese, posseduti e descritti dal conte Giovanni Francesco Ferrari—Moreni, Modena, Soldani," 1858, p. 13.

genius for Art; and in that respect they stand, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have rightly remarked, on a line with the Veronese. But while we are able to trace the Veronese character from the beginning of the 14th century to the end of the 16th in works that have come down to us, the earlier productions of the Ferrara school are on the contrary withdrawn from our inspection, the Ferrarese artists of the 14th century having left us nothing but their bare names.¹

We are therefore obliged to pass over altogether the "heroic" epoch of this school of painting—the Giottesques, as they are called—and to begin our studies with that period in which it was the chief aim of art to seize and depict *character*, or those attributes in the external appearance of men and things, which flow out of the inner mental life. In the Ferrara school this epoch is represented mainly by Cosimo Tura and Francesco Cossa. Both these considerable and characteristic masters held the same place in their own country as Pier dei Franceschi or della Francesca occupied in the Umbrian school; Fra Filippo, Andrea del Castagno, and Antonio del Pollajuolo in the Florentine; as the Vivarini and others in the Venetian school; Mantegna, Dario of Treviso, and Carlo Crivelli in the Paduan; Liberale and his contemporaries in the Veronese; and Vincenzo Foppa in the Lombard school. This epoch of art in Northern Italy is commonly called by art

¹ It seems, however, that there were no important Ferrarese painters yet, even at the beginning of the 15th century, else Byzantines like the painter Georgios of Constantinople would hardly have found occupation there (see "L. Napoleone Cittadella: Notizie relative a Ferrara," 1864, S. 562). By this painter Georgios the Brera Gallery has an "Evangelist Mark" (No. 182) painted on a gold ground. The picture probably found its way to Milan from Ferrara.

historians the *Mantegnesque*, and I have no objection to the epithet, so long as it merely implies that in Andrea Mantegna the period found its highest expression. But if it is at all meant to suggest that the representatives of the same period in the other schools of the Po, really imitated Mantegna, or were directly influenced and guided by him, then I resolutely protest against it as a superficial and shallow interpretation of art history.¹

The history of any school of art can only be rightly understood by regarding and studying it as a living whole, like an organism, which from its germ to its death has its regular development; it rises step by step, *then* step by step declines.² In the Venetian school of painting, which

¹ Thus the Veronese painters, Francesco Carotto, Bonsignori, and Giolfino have been represented as imitators of Mantegna. Now I ask any unprejudiced student to examine closely the early works (about 1500) of Carotto, in the galleries of Modena (No. 50), of Maldura at Padua, and at Frankfort, Städel Museum (No. 145); and he will admit that these small Madonnas of Carotto, in drawing and moulding, recall quite as much his master Liberale as Mantegna. In his colouring, however, Carotto always remained a true Veronese. Again, let any one study the signed works of Bonsignori (in the churches of San Fermo, S. Bernardino, S. Paolo, and in the municipal Gallery of Verona), and I have no doubt that every connoisseur will see therein the influence of Giambellini and of Alvise Vivarini, but certainly not of Mantegna. Later, no doubt, when at Mantua, Bonsignori learned a good deal from his great colleague. Nay, the works of Mantegna's personal friend Niccolò Giolfino in the church of S. Anastasia and the municipal gallery of Verona show none of the influence of the mighty Paduan; but to anyone who minutely examines them they frankly say, "We were painted by a pupil of our countryman Liberale!" Why, even pictures of the Florentines, Botticelli and Pollajuolo, have been assigned to Mantegna. Thus, out of sheer ignorance, works of *the same art-epoch* are sure to be ascribed by superficial connoisseurs to the greatest representative of that epoch, here to Mantegna, there to Perugino, and so on.

² Technical appliances, indeed, one school can learn and appropriate from another, but conception and feeling, as something alive and wholly in-

was fortunate enough not to be interrupted in its course by outward circumstances, we can best survey the whole parabola described by art in its progress from the so-called Byzantines down to Tiepolo and Pietro Longhi. The Ferrara school, on the contrary, is accessible to us only from the second half of the 15th century, and then we see it blossoming and unfolding itself with no less richness than individuality.¹

trinsic, must, like speech, bear the stamp of the individual, and therefore of the nationality, the *race*. Antonello da Messina has learned of a Fleming the Van Eyck method of painting; he is none the less Italian in his way of putting a scene before us. Dürer was a longish time at Venice, but still the German artist peeps out in every stroke. The outward influence of some Tuscan on some Lombard, of a Lombard on a Venetian, and *vice versâ*, I of course allow. It would be ridiculous to deny that Italians have influenced some Flemish or German artists, or that the great representatives of northern art, as Van Eyck and Dürer, have been imitated by certain Italians. But all this does not prove that *the school, as such*, has been interrupted in its course of development, or in any way influenced by these accidents, on which some art historians continue to lay so much stress.

¹ In the Town Gallery of Ferrara they show you, as dating from the first half of the 15th century, a picture on panel, representing the "Trinity," and signed with the initials G. G. (No. 54.) If this rude production really belongs to GALASSO GALASSI, to whom it is there ascribed, there must have been two Ferrarese painters of that name: the one just mentioned, who, according to Vasari, painted in the church of Mezzaratta, near Bologna, in 1404; and (2) a younger Galasso Galassi, born in 1438, as Vasari likewise informs us, to whom are attributed the two Saints, Peter and John the Baptist, painted on panel, in one of the sub-churches of San Stefano at Bologna. On one of these pictures is seen a similar G. G. The St. Apollonia at the Bologna Pinacothec, there ascribed to Marco Zoppo (which is also accepted by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle i., 349, 4), appears to me to be painted by this latter Galassi. I must here mention another Ferrarese painter of the same period, namely, the grandfather of Timoteo Viti, ANTONIO DA FERRARA, who was a long time at Urbino, and there painted, in 1439, a polyptych for the church of St. Bernardin (now in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts at

The Ferrarese were largely influenced by the learned school which Squarcione had set up near them at Padua about 1430; then they may have received a powerful impulse to farther development in the same severe and learned direction, from the great teacher of perspective, Pietro della Francesca, or dei' Franceschi, of Borgo San Sepolcro, during his long residence among them. It is true that about 1451 Roger van der Weyden received commissions from the House of Este; but the inference that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle drew from it, that Roger must have influenced Galasso Gallassi (?), Tura and Cossa, is as unacceptable to me as their opinion that Lorenzo Costa and Ercole Grandi, junior, were acted upon by the Perugians. People are too much accustomed to consider the practice of an Art as something accidental, external, and wholly independent of the special character of the population among whom it is practised, and to overlook the organic laws by which art develops itself. Writers on art will smell out a Flemish influence here, and a Florentine or Umbrian there, in schools of painting which, when more profoundly studied, prove to have always retained their own special local character.

That Flemish artists, during a prolonged stay in Italy, initiated not only Antonello da Messina, but perhaps other Italians, into the technicalities of the Van Eyck method of painting, I freely admit; and the same thing happened in Germany. There is no doubt that some Venetian painters copied, and tried to imitate, pictures by Jan Van Eyck and by Memling, which in those times were much prized

Urbino). This Antonio is not without character, and would rank somewhere between the Venetians Jacomello de Flor and Antonio Vivarini.

and sought after by Italian connoisseurs; but that these accidents can at all warrant the sweeping assertion that the Flemings taught the Italians *Naturalism* or *Realism*, as Baron Rumohr preaches, appears to me an overshooting of the mark, and utterly untrue. Was it not the development of Art itself that led men to the study of nature, alike in the Netherlands, in Germany, and in Italy? ¹

But to return to our Ferrarese. The most important painters of the second half of the fifteenth century were the rugged, gnarled, and angular, but often grand Cosimo Tura, called Cosmè; the serious, at times rather surly Francesco Cossa, a kindred spirit to Tura, though never so grotesque as he; the so-called Stefano da Ferrara, whose only known work is in the Brera Gallery at Milan; ² Galasso Galassi the younger; Ercole Roberti, alias Grandi; Francesco Bianchi, called Frarè at Madera; Domenico Panetti and Lorenzo Costa.

This Ferrarese group of painters then divided into two principal branches, one of which remained at Ferrara, with Tura and Panetti, and the other, with Francesco Cossa, Galasso Galassi, junior (apparently), and Lorenzo Costa, were drawn away to Bologna by the Bentivogli, and worked in that town the greater part of their lives.

¹ See Vasari, edition Le Monnier, iv., 104:—"Fù Alesso (Baldovinetti) diligentissimo nelle cose sue, e di tutte le minuzie che la madre natura sa fare, si sforzò d'essere imitatore . . . Dilettosi molto di far paesi ritraendoli dal vivo e naturale come stanno appunto. . . . Fece nella Nunziata di Firenze una natività (which still exists) fatta con tanta fatica e diligenza," etc., etc. See also Vasari, iii., 92, in the life of Paolo Uccello.

² Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give to this Stefano that small picture representing "John the Baptist," in possession of Sig. Dondi-Orologio at Padua; but to my thinking, it is the work of Cosimo Tura (i., 529).

Francesco Bianchi seems to have settled at Modena between 1480-1490; Francesco Cossa came to Bologna as early as 1470; Lorenzo Costa about 1483.¹ Of these older Ferrarese masters, the only ones represented in the Dresden Gallery are Francesco Cossa and Ercole Roberti. The later Ferrarese, those of the first half of the sixteenth century, make a better muster here: Dosso, Mazzolino, Garofalo and Girolamo Carpi.

No. 21. FRANCESCO COSSA. The catalogue assigns this very interesting picture, representing the "Annunciation," dubiously to Antonio del Pollajuolo, and with more confidence to "the Old Florentine School" in general. To Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i., 527) belongs the merit of having recognized in this painting the mind and hand of a Ferrarese painter, though they are undecided whether to ascribe it to Baldassare Estense² or to Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare. The type of the Holy Virgin is clearly the same as in the signed picture by Francesco Cossa of the year 1474 in the Bologna Pinacothec, only more perfectly expressed there. The swelling folds in the Ma-

¹ I therefore consider Francesco Cossa to be the true founder of the old so-called Bolognese school of painting, in opposition to the local writers, who represent their feeble Marco Zoppo, a pupil of Squarcione, as the disciple of Lippo Dalmasio and master of Francia. One can judge of the painting ability of the Bolognese in the first half of the fifteenth century, by the few frescoes of Lippo Dalmasio at Bologna, and by a panel-picture of Jacopo de' Avanzi (signed) in the Colonna Gallery (agli Apostoli) at Rome.

² By this little known master, or rather amateur (he was a colonel, and, it is said, an illegitimate son of a prince of the House of Este), there are now extant, as far as I know, only a very few portraits in profile, one of which has come to the National Gallery in London from the Costabile at Ferrara; another, much damaged, was purchased from the same collection some years ago by the antiquarian Guggenheim at Venice. Both pictures are signed with the name of the master.

donna's mantle appear just the same as in the picture named; in the angel's face the same darkish brown flesh-tint as in the donor of the painting of 1474; the shape of the hand with the broad fingers, and the thick, wavy folds at the lower end of the Virgin's dress; all this determines me to see in this remarkable picture an early work of Francesco Cossa,¹ a master of whom Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not seem to have formed quite a clear conception. For, on the assurance of the Bolognese guides, they still assign to Lorenzo Costa the figures of the twelve apostles in the Marsili Chapel of the Church of S. Petronio, whereas to my mind they bear conspicuously the stamp of Francesco Cossa.² Another excellent work by Cossa seems to be the "St. Jerome enthroned" at the altar of the 5th chapel on the right in S. Petronio. Unfortunately the picture is half covered by a worthless piece of modern painting, so that it cannot even be seen, much less studied. A characteristic work of this little heeded, and yet so important Ferrarese, is to be found in the Church of S. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna. This is the large, beautiful glass window representing St. John at

Patmos, and signed  (Cossa fecit); also assigned to

Lorenzo Costa by the local guides. In the same church (chapel 5 on the left) one still sees a much repainted Madonna with two angels, which in my opinion was also once a work of Cossa's. The Städel Institute at Frankfort

¹ Painted in 1470 for the church "dell Osservanza" at Bologna.—See Preface to the Catalogue, p. 42.

² Of the signed picture by Cossa in the Bologna Pinacothec, there is a pretty good photograph, which my readers might get at Bologna.

possesses likewise a much repainted and damaged picture of this master, there ascribed to Mantegna (No. 13); the signature on the panel is apocryphal. But enough for the present on this hitherto quite misunderstood master.¹

Pass we now to **ERCOLE ROBERTI**. He was the son of a painter Antonio, who is stated to have been already dead in 1479. Ercole may have come into the world at Ferrara between 1440-1450; in 1513 he is recorded as dead. We possess no authenticated works of this master. Two valuable little pictures, No. 163 and 164, came to Dresden under the name of **ERCOLE GRANDI**,² from the sacristy of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna. As we still find in the same church two works by Francesco Cossa and two by Lorenzo Costa, we must conclude that the pictorial decoration of this church during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century was almost entirely entrusted to the Ferrarese settled at Bologna. If now we examine the interesting figures, full of life and character, in the two pictures before

¹ N. Cittadella, "Notizie relative a Ferrara," p. 583.

² Vasari says that the three small pictures painted by Ercole Grandi formed the base or Predella of the chief altarpiece of that church. If that was the case, he could not possibly have meant, as modern writers state, the great picture by Lorenzo Costa (now set up in the choir of the church), as this painting cannot have seen the light before the first decade of the sixteenth century, the two Predella pictures of the Dresden Gallery being in that case probably some thirty years older. Lami, in his "Graticola" of the year 1560, says: "E sopra l'altar maggiore sono dipinte doe istorie fate a olio (?) de ma"(mano) d'Ercole da Frara (Ferrara), l'una è quando Cristo fù condotto alla croce trai due ladroni, l'altra quando Cristo fù tradito da Juda. E nel mezzo la Madonna con Cristo morto in braccio." In the year 1749 the Canon Luigi Crespi sold two predellas with the very same subject, to be taken to Dresden. It is therefore more than probable that the Dresden pictures are the Predellas seen by Lami in 1560. The centre-piece, the Pietà, is said to be in the Royal Institution at Liverpool.

us (Nos. 163, 164), there plainly appears in them, not only the influence of Andrea Mantegna, but also that of Giambellino (about 1460-1465), on the artistic development of young Ercole Roberti. Whoever would like to be more fully convinced of this, has only to examine the early works of Giovan Bellini, as the panel in the Naples Museum, "Christ's Agony," in the National Gallery, London (No. 726); the "Pietà" in the Brera Gallery, and more especially two pictures in the Museo Correr at Venice, one representing "Christ on the Mount of Olives," the other the "Crucified," lamented by the Madonna and the Evangelist St. John. The first of these two pictures is indeed still ascribed to Mantegna in the catalogue of that collection, and also mentioned as such by the Marchese P. Selvatico (commentary on the life of Mantegna in the Le Monnier edition of Vasari); but Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i., 143) have rightly recognized in it an early work of Giovanni Bellini. The other painting, in the Museo Correr, likewise ascribed to Mantegna in the catalogue, is spoken of by the above-named historians (i., 534) as a work of Ercole Roberti, while to my eyes it is another and a highly characteristic early work of Giambellino.¹ One has only to examine the shape of the hand, so peculiar to Bellini, the fall of the drapery, the type of the Madonna, and the landscape with winding paths so characteristic of Bellini, and so utterly different from the landscapes of Ercole Roberti.

Ercole Roberti, alias Grandi, is too interesting a master to be passed over without my mentioning to my young friends the little I know about him. Prince Mario Chigi

¹ The artistic descent of Giovanni from Jacopo Bellini comes out very clearly in this picture.

at Rome possesses a characteristic work by him. It represents, if I mistake not, an incident in the life of Melchizedek.¹ This painting seems to me to be of the same period of the master as the "Children of Israel gathering Manna" (at Dudley House, in London), of which the Dresden Gallery has a very feeble copy. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are, I think, quite wrong in assigning this picture at Lord Dudley's to Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare, a pupil of Francia and Costa.



Shapes of Ear and Hand in Francesco Bianchi.

They were, I believe, equally mistaken in assigning to Ercole Roberti (i., 534) quite insignificant little pictures in the Town Picture Gallery of Ravenna and at Senator Count Cavalli's of Padua.

And here I must mention one more picture, likewise

¹ On the back of the panel we read: "di Ercole da Ferrara."

imputed to Ercole Roberti by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i., 534), but really a most characteristic early work of his contemporary FRANCESCO BIANCHI of Ferrara. I mean that large panel-picture, representing the death of Mary, in the possession of Signor Lombardi at Ferrara, the heir of Professor Laroli. In this painting of Bianchi's we see very plainly the influence of Tura.

In the collection of the late His de la Salle at Paris, there was a drawing in pen-and-ink of the "Massacre of the Innocents," which I think I may safely ascribe to our Ercole Grandi. Not long ago there was in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, a so-called "Entombment," on which we read the name of Ercole Grandi and the year 1531.

This picture belongs to Count Zeloni of Rome, and is said to have been for many years exhibited for sale at the Gallery of the Monte di Pietà.

The Madonna, seated on the open sarcophagus, holds in her lap the dead Christ; on the right is St. Magdalen kneeling; behind her stands Joseph of Arimathea with a vessel of ointment in his hand; on the left two holy women in a kneeling posture, and behind them St. John and another pious man; a building with statues of David and Judith forms the background. On the sarcophagus is the false inscription: E. Grandi. F. MDXXXI. This painting has been much injured by repeated restorations. The inscription is based probably on a tradition which ascribed this work to Hercules Grandi; but the owner of the picture who had the name put on, confounded the elder Grandi, Ercole Roberti, with the younger; for in 1531 the former had been dead about twenty years. If this "Deposizione" at Prince Borghese's is really a work of the elder Ercole Grandi of Ferrara, as I believe it to be, then the present writer also has a picture by

the same master-at Milan. It represents the Evangelist St. John, and belongs to about the last decade of the fifteenth century, while the "Entombment" must have been painted in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The influence of Cosimo Tura seems to me apparent in the "Evangelist St. John;" in the "Entombment" on the contrary, that of the school of Francia. From all that has been said, it is very clear that the painter Ercole Roberti is still far from being sufficiently known to us. It would therefore be a noble task for some young student to hunt up the works of this interesting and dramatic master, and set him in a clearer light and in his true place among his Ferrarese contemporaries.

By another unknown Ferrarese of the same period there is a long predella in the Picture Collection of the Vatican; it represents the "Miracles of S. Hyacinth." This highly interesting picture is there erroneously ascribed to B. Gozzoli; I suppose a guess made by the Roman Academicians of S. Luca.

No German gallery, as far as I know, has any works by ERCOLE GRANDI (junior), son of Giulio Cesare and scholar of Lorenzo Costa and Francia. To get acquainted with this master we must go to Italy, where we find, especially at Ferrara, his native town, a good many works by him, both great and small, mostly under other names. Thus, to mention but a couple of instances, the fine frescoes on the ceiling of a room in the Casa Calcagnini-Estense at Ferrara belong, I consider, to Ercole; these wall-paintings were erroneously assigned to Garofalo by the late N. Cittadella, who wrote a separate pamphlet on the subject. Another large and very fine Madonna with Saints, by Ercole Grandi, junior, is in the possession of Marchese Strozzi at Ferrara, but is unfortunately some-

what injured by modern restoration. In the Casa Strozzi it still bears the false name of Lorenzo Costa, under which name it came there from the convent S. Cristoforo degli Esposti, and under which name it is also cited by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i., 546, 4). The fact is, that Grandi in this picture comes very near to his master Costa, and it requires a very intimate knowledge of the Ferrara School to detect therein the mind and hand of the pupil.¹

The Dresden Gallery unfortunately has not a single work by Cosimo Tura, nor by his pupil, the younger Galasso Galassi, nor by Francesco Bianchi, Domenico Panetti, or the ingenious Lorenzo Costa. Quite lately, however, it has acquired a small picture by a scholar of Panetti, FRANCESCO MAZZOLINO,² whose brilliant colours, playing through all shades, made him a favourite of the Roman Monsignori. It is only in small figures that he imparts pleasure, his gift lying in the direction of *genre* rather than of historical painting. To me his pictures have always had something Flemish about them. But let us now turn to the chief representatives of the Ferrara School in its prime, namely Dosso and Garofalo, who hold much the same place in their own country as B. Luini and Gaudenzio Ferrari do in the Lombardo-Milanese School.

In no other gallery on this side of the Alps are Dosso and GAROFALO so well represented as in the beautiful

¹ The heirs of Marchese Strozzi, who died lately, have sold this picture to the National Gallery.

² No. 147, an "Ecce Homo." After close investigation, I have come to the conclusion, that Mazzolino must have studied, not, as is generally accepted, under Lorenzo Costa at Bologna, but under D. Panetti in his native town.

rooms of the Dresden Gallery.¹ With these two Ferrarese I will here associate GIROLAMO CARPI, he being named in the catalogue as author of the good picture, No. 178, "Venus and Cupid on a sea-shell drawn by swans," and considered by Vasari a pupil of Garofalo, though I am persuaded that he was influenced by Dosso even more than by Garofalo. My studies have led me to the conviction that many of the *Decorative paintings* we are about to comment upon, though invented and even drawn by Dosso, were executed for the most part by Girolamo Carpi, and perhaps also by Dosso's younger brother, Battista Dossi.² All these pictures (No. 178 included) had probably adorned some room or other in the Ducal Palace of Ferrara,³ and were then brought by the last duke, Cesare, in 1599, to Modena, where they afterwards received the most varying names.

We enumerate them here as follows :—

No. 146. "Justice with the scales and fasces." Both figure and landscape conceived quite in the spirit of Dosso; but whether the execution belongs wholly to Dosso, as is likely enough, I dare not as yet determine. The luminous colouring, characteristic of Dosso, is not obvious in this picture; but that may be the fault of the dirt which covers its surface.

¹ I have already expressed myself at large on Dosso and Garofalo in Lützow's "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst" (vol. ix.-xi.), after patiently and lovingly hunting up their works, acknowledged and unacknowledged, and have tried to set their artistic personality in a clearer light than has ever yet been done.

² In one case even by Garofalo.

³ Such Decoration-pictures had become the fashion in Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century: "E sopra il cammino di pietra," says Vasari in his "Life of Pierino del Vaga," "fece Pierino una Pace, la quale abbruccia armi e trofei;" therefore the same allegorical figure that appears in No. 149 of this gallery.

No. 149. The same may be said of this picture, representing "Peace." In the Costabili Gallery at Ferrara the same figure with some modifications appeared as the work of Girolamo Carpi; but that picture is now in private possession at Bologna. This No. 149 is of the same size as 146, so are Nos. 92 and 93; they may all have adorned the same room in Ferrara Palace.

These two paintings, as well as No. 150, representing the Fathers of the Church, &c., came from Modena to Dresden as works of Dosso, and have here also retained their old appellations. The large painting, 150, was doubtless not only invented by Dosso, but executed by his hand throughout.

No. 147. "Diana and Endymion" came to Dresden as a work of Parmeggianino, and was here ascribed with better knowledge to Dosso. In my opinion, however, the composition of the picture, and probably the cartoon to it, are to be assigned to Garofalo, and the execution to Girolamo Carpi.

No. 148. "A Hora with Apollo's horses." This picture, too, which came over the Alps a Garofalo, recovered its true parentage at Dresden. It is a creation of Dosso, though not executed by himself, but by the same master that painted No. 147. Again, No. 151, a "Dream," also brought to Dresden as a Garofalo, was here restored to its real author, Dosso. Battista Dosso may have painted it.

No. 152. "Judith with the head of Holophernes." We have here a picture by Dosso under the influence of Parmeggianino.

At a certain time (1540-60) in Northern Italy the Parmeggianino elegance had through his engravings come to be the fashion; and artists even of such different types as Andrea Schiavone, Giacomo Bassano, Domenico Alfani,

Luca Longhi, Defendente Ferrari of Chivasso, strove to imitate it. This Judith, in my opinion, is another of the class of Dosso compositions painted by Girolamo Carpi.

We will now examine a set of pictures of Dosso which in my opinion have either retained at Dresden the false names given them at Modena, or have exchanged their old and genuine authorship for a spurious one.

No. 182. "Ganymede carried off by Jupiter's Eagle." This picture came from Modena to Dresden as a Parmegianino, and has kept its false name.

What we said above on Dosso's Decoration-pictures will also apply to this painting as well as to the following:—

No. 185, an allegorical figure called "Opportunity." A youth standing on a globe, holds a knife in his right hand; a female figure stands behind him. The picture came from Modena as a work of Girolamo Bedolo, also called Girolamo Mazzola, a cousin of Francesco Mazzola, and retained its false name in Germany. The present Gallery of Modena has (No. 360) a copy of this picture by Andrea Donduzzi, called *Il Mastelletta*, which also goes by the name of "Opportunity:" "*Il pittore avrà forse inteso di rappresentare l'occasione, che nel mondo fugge veloce, avendo sempre per compagna Motanea, ossia il pentimento, che resta indietro,*" says Signor Tarabini, the compiler of the Modena Catalogue.

"The Archangel Michael slaying the Dragon," No. 92, came to Dresden as a work of Dosso, but was dubiously assigned to Francesco Penni, called *Il Fattore*, probably on the ground of its composition being exactly the same as in Raphael's treatment of the same subject. I have no doubt the Modenese were right this time, and the Dresdeners wrong; for the picture is not only instinct with the spirit of Dosso, but also executed by his hand, though

probably after the Raphael Cartoon which at that time still existed at the Ferrara palace.¹

"St. George" is an early work of Dosso (No. 93), executed about 1506, before the original by Raphael was sent to London as a present to Henry VIII. The armour of St. George retains its gilding. It came from Modena to Dresden as a work of Garofalo's, and was here ascribed to Francesco Penni again. And this time both were wrong; for this picture also belongs to no other than Dosso, who, probably by command of his master, copied on a larger scale the magnificent little original which Raphael had painted for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, in 1506.²

There is one picture left, No. 153, which Hübner's catalogue ascribes to a pupil of Dosso, but which I must claim for the master himself. This exquisite work, rich in colouring, belongs to Dosso Dossi's early and best period.³ The lovely figure of the Virgin bowing before God the Father, is nobly conceived, the four Fathers living in their movements, the landscape magnificent. I am only surprised that all these excellences of the picture should have escaped so eminent a representative of modern German

¹ By command of Leo X. in 1518, Raphael painted, as we know, the great St. Michael for King Francis I. of France, and a Holy Family for the Queen. Both pictures are at the Louvre. The ambassador of Alfonso of Ferrara at Rome, Costabili, records in his letters, that Raphael had sent Duke Alfonso his Cartoon of the St. Michael for a present. The Duke writes back to his ambassador at Rome, that the cartoon has safely arrived, and commissions Costabili to hand over to Raphael in his name twenty-five scudi, "to keep his Martinmas withal, and think the while of him."

² Raphael's original picture is now in the Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

³ It represents God the Father above in a glory in the act of blessing the Virgin. Below are four Fathers of the Church—Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome.

painting as Herr Hübner. So far, then, the Dresden Gallery possesses eleven pictures by Dosso; a twelfth we shall soon have to examine. Two of them, No. 146 and 149, are most likely executed by his own hand; the other five are composed by him, but painted probably in common with Girolamo Carpi and his brother, Battista Dossi.

No other collection can boast of being so rich in Dosso pictures; nay, most of the public Galleries in Germany, England, Russia, Holland, France, and Spain¹ possess nothing at all by this ingenious master, so that whoever wishes to study him outside of Italy, must go to Dresden.

The Dresden Gallery possesses also some fine works by Dosso's rival, *BENVENUTO TISI DA GAROFALO*. Most of them were among the hundred pictures brought from Modena. The numbers 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, and 160 represent pictures of the good period of the master (1515-1530); No. 161 shows the incipient decline of Garofalo's art; this picture is signed: "*Benvenù (Ferrarese for Benvenuto) Garofalo, 1530, DEC.*" (December.)² It was painted, according to N. Cittadella, not for the church S. Spirito, but for the Certosa at Ferrara. Lastly, No. 154³ does

¹ The Munich Gallery, as we have seen, has nothing of Dosso's, the Berlin Gallery one genuine but much repainted altar-piece, the Belvedere at Vienna an unimportant St. Jerome, the Madrid Museum nothing. Also the National Gallery of London has nothing worth speaking of to show, and the Louvre offers the public, as a work of Dosso's (No. 167), a much restored painting by Paris Bordone. In the Hampton Court Gallery, however, there are, among others, two very fine and characteristic works by Dosso. One of them (No. 97) represents a Holy Family, the other St. William. The last-named picture, of which numerous copies are to be found elsewhere, bears the name of Giorgione.

² Mary with the Child, surrounded by musical angels, appears to St. Peter, Bruno, and George.

³ "Christ among the Doctors in the Temple."

not belong to the School of Dosso ; as the Catalogue says, it is a genuine, although dirty work by Garofalo.

GIROLAMO DA CARPI, or as he signs himself, Hieronymus de Carpis (Carpi would therefore be the family-name),¹ was born about 1501, and died in 1556. His father Tommaso was a painter, and as such we find him in the service of Lucrezia Borgia, in the year 1507. Hieronymus, in 1538, married Katharina Amatori at Ferrara. Cittadella tells us that he not only worked with Garofalo, for instance, in 1535, at the Palace of Coppara, but also with and under Dosso.² As assistant to Dosso, he painted, amongst other things, several rooms in the "Belvedere," a country seat on a small island near Ferrara. The rudiments of painting he would most likely have learnt from his father. Vasari tells us that he studied afterwards under Garofalo. To judge by his authentic picture of the year 1530 in the church of San Martino at Bologna, he must also have been strongly influenced by Dosso, for that painting proves him at least as much an imitator of Dosso as of Garofalo. Later on, between 1540 and 1550, he copied several of Correggio's paintings, and brought some of them to Rome, in 1550, where he showed them to Vasari.

Let us now examine the works of Antonio Allegri da Correggio, called IL CORREGGIO, whose pictures are a principal attraction of this Gallery, and to them it owes much of its world-wide renown. I am sorry to see that Herr Hübner still classes Correggio with the Lombard

¹ He is also called Sellari by some writers, but wrongly. (See "C. Napoleone Cittadella," p. 592). In London, there is an excellent picture by Garofalo at Dudley House. It represents a sacrifice.

² See "N. Cittadella Notizie," &c., p. 351.

School, (which?). Some years ago,¹ I tried, though briefly, to explain that this artist belongs to the Ferrara-Bologna School.

Francesco Bianchi of Ferrara, a scholar of Cosimo Tura settled at Modena, is said to have been Correggio's master, a statement we can very well believe. Bianchi was very intimate with Francesco Francia and Lorenzo Costa, and is said to have painted together with them *al fresco* in the Bentivoglio Palace at Bologna. We can then also admit as probable that the talented pupil from Correggio, having served out his apprenticeship with Bianchi in 1507 or 1508, was sent by him to the studio of his friend Francia, to complete his studies. I am indebted to my learned friend, Dr. Jean Paul Richter, in London, to have pointed out to me an excellent work by Francesco Bianchi. It is in possession of Mr. Leyland, and represents a Virgin and St. Joseph adoring the Infant Christ, who lies sleeping before them. In this picture we can observe that Bianchi became also influenced by Ercole Grandi di Roberto.

His celebrated picture, painted in 1514-1515, No. 168 in this Gallery,² has many features which partly recall Francia (*e.g.* the head of St. Catherine), partly Costa (as the medallion on the throne painted in *chiaroscuro*); therefore, my hypothesis that Correggio comes from the Ferrara-Bologna School cannot appear altogether groundless in the eyes of those who have learned to see.³ Now, is this

¹ See my articles on the Borghese Gallery in the "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst" (Vol. X.).

² Mary with the Child gives her blessing from the throne to St. Francis; behind him St. Antony of Padua; on the other side, John the Baptist with St. Catherine.

³ To my greatest satisfaction I see that Dr. J. P. Richter, in his able treatise on Correggio (in Dohme's "Kunst und Künstler," lxxiv.), has expressed the same opinion on Antonio Allegri's artistic development.

splendid youthful work of Correggio, the earliest that we possess? Surely not. Before giving so important a commission to a young painter, one must have had convincing proofs of his ability, although in those happy times for art, painters had generally mastered the technical part of the profession in their fifteenth or sixteenth year. But where are the works that Correggio painted before this magnificent altar-piece of 1514? I regret that I can only mention five. One of them was formerly in the Gallery Costabili at Ferrara, and now belongs to my friend Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni of Milan, a distinguished connoisseur, who considers it a gem in his collection. This little jewel, unfortunately not in the best preservation, represents a Madonna enthroned, with the infant Jesus presenting the ring to a kneeling St. Catherine; behind the Madonna is St. Anne, and beside her St. Francis and St. Dominic. In this little picture, which does not measure much more than a span, the hands are still like those of Lorenzo Costa, the glowing colours recall Mazzolino, but the expression and movements of St. Francis are already those of the future Correggio. The shape and decorations of the throne much resemble those in our Dresden picture.

A second little picture by Correggio, probably painted about 1511-12, is a Madonna and Child amidst a choir of angels, in the Gallery degli Uffizi, at Florence, No. 1002. In the catalogue it was at first ascribed to the Ferrara School, but afterwards to Titian. In this little painting too, besides the fine feeling, there are already present all the outward characteristics of Correggio, in the folds of the drapery, the shape of the ear and hand, &c. Here also, exactly as in the Dresden Madonna with St. Francis (No. 168), we see six or eight cherubs' heads above the Madonna, here painted in chiaroscuro.

About a year later may have been painted the small Madonna in the Malaspina Gallery, now the Town Museum of Pavia. It represents the Virgin and Child, the little St. John, St. Joseph and St. Anne; it is painted on panel like the two preceding; unfortunately effaced, and also painted over. It is ascribed to Francia in that Gallery.¹

To the same epoch I would assign another small Madonna, formerly in the Ambrosiana, now in the Museo Municipale of Milan.² This picture was also painted on wood, but has lately been transferred to canvas.

Lastly, the pretty large altar-piece at Lord Ashburton's in London, which has likewise a Francia-Costa character, appears to me to have been produced a little before our St. Francis, about 1513-14. At this time he may have painted also the charming little picture of a Holy Family at Hampton Court (No. 276).

Before Correggio settled at Parma, he must have been artistically in communication with Dosso and Garofalo. His picture of "A Rest during the Flight to Egypt," in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, seems to warrant the hypothesis. I need only draw attention to the use in it of straw-colour, at that time confined to Dosso and Garofalo. Besides, Dosso is said to have painted a portrait of Correggio. All this, however, is only hypothesis, and I am unable to produce tangible proof. Among works of his riper youth, painted about 1518, besides a small and much injured Madonna belonging to Count Campori of Modena, I include that charming Madonna adoring on her knees the infant Jesus; likewise in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery. This painting, alike in

¹ It is certainly curious that none of the early works of Correggio are ascribed to Mantegna.

² Bequest of Count Bolognini.

feeling and in colouring, is remarkably suggestive of Lorenzo Lotto.

It has long been asserted, that Lotto was not only the pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, but that he took the works of Correggio for his model, and set himself to imitate them. I have already tried to point out the incorrectness of this notion. It comes of a superficial way of looking at the development of painting in Italy; and I think this a fair opportunity of reverting to that point.

When a nation's culture has reached its culminating point, we see everywhere, in daily life as well as in literature and art, that *grace* comes to be valued more than *character*. So it was in Italy during the closing decades of the fifteenth century and the opening ones of the sixteenth. To no artist was it given to express this feeling so fully as to the great Leonardo da Vinci, perhaps the most richly gifted man that mother Nature ever made. He was the first who tried to express the smile of inward happiness, the sweetness of the soul. In part, however, this aim could only be attained by a more subtle comprehension of pictorial modelling, that is, of *chiaroscuro*; hence it was that Leonardo devoted to that study the best hours of his lengthened sojourn at Milan (1485—1500).¹

Almost at the same time, and doubtless quite independently of Leonardo, Giorgione, at Venice, was led into the same path by the historical development of art. And it is in this respect above all, that I look upon Lorenzo Lotto as the comrade and successor of his countryman Barbarella. Lotto, as well as Giorgione, can hardly have known Leonardo

¹ See some of his aphorisms in the well-known "Trattato della Pittura."

da Vinci personally, or seen any of his works, although he made a brief stay at Venice in the last months of the year 1499.¹ And to Correggio this applies even more strongly still. To him fell the enviable lot, to evoke the purest, fullest harmony from the strings already struck by Leonardo, by Giorgione, and by Lorenzo Lotto. Now I do not believe that these four men had ever stood in any artistic relation to each other. It was simply, that one and the same mode of feeling animated them all, and found expression in their works. This mode of feeling was a part of the age in which they lived and worked; it was a stage in the development of the human mind. The mind, emancipating itself from the swaddling-bands of medieval thought, gazed, with an artless vivid joy, at Man, whole and free, as the Greek eye saw him long ago. And is it not this triumphant sense of having found again the true, living, free Man, that speaks to us from the works of the great Italian masters in the first decade of the sixteenth century? This sense of liberty achieved, is what inspires the figures both of Correggio and of Michelangelo, the two chief representatives of this attitude of mind, in pictorial art, widely as their characters might differ in other respects. Michelangelo was sprung from a patrician family of Florence, and had grown up in a rich and splendid, but politically distracted city, at a time when moral character was on the decline. With his lofty, proud, and independent nature, he soon became disgusted with the want of principle and the idle pleasure-hunting of his contemporaries. This disposition of mind we find already expressed

¹ Leonardo da Vinci must have left Milan in the first days of October, 1499 (shortly before the entrance of the French), and travelled by way of Venice to Florence.

in his celebrated "David;" it increased with years, and, especially after the fall of the republic at Florence, found its strongest expression in his well-known verses on the statue of "Night:"—

"Grato m' è il sonno e più l'esser di sasso :
Mentre che il danno e la vergogna dura,
Non veder, non sentir m' è gran ventura ;
Però non mi destar ; deh, parla basso." ¹

Ill at ease, he at an early age withdrew from the world, to live entirely to his art. He was, at bottom, like Correggio, of a simple and pure nature.²

Antonio Allegri, on the contrary, was the son of a modest, peaceful burgher-family, and beyond love of his art, his mind can scarcely have been touched by any deep or enduring passion. If Michelangelo pursued his calling, a solitary amid the noise and bustle and passions of a world-city like Rome, Correggio spent his days, a solitary in a small provincial town, among Benedictine monks. As Correggio was endowed by nature to utter "sweetness of soul," alike in sport and in sorrow, in the intoxication of sensuous joy as in the rapture of divine love, Michelangelo's heroic temper led him mainly to body forth earnestness, dignity, and strength, the noble pride of a free nature, the bitter scorn of all that is base, unprincipled, and vain,—in a word, all the manly attributes and passions of the soul, in their strongest utterances. Out of his titanic figures, the emancipated mind of man, as if in full

¹ See Vasari: 12, 208,—Edition Le Monnier.

² Read his letter to Vasari, informing him of the death of his faithful servant Urbino. Also a letter to one of his brothers, who showed some inclination to visit him at Bologna: "Son qua," he writes home, "in una cattiva stanza, e ho comperato [un letto solo nel quale stiamo quattro persone, e non avrei il modo raccettarlo come si richiede."

consciousness of its God-given strength, looks down, with true Olympian pride, on the broken chains that bound humanity. It is certainly remarkable, that the chief representatives of these two moods of mind, Correggio and Michelangelo, should have flourished at the same time. Michelangelo's whole cast of mind belonged rather to the age of Dante; yet, as a phenomenon, and because he worked chiefly for popes, and in the two intellectual capitals of Italy as it then was, Rome and Florence, he had a far more direct and powerful influence on his contemporaries than Correggio. All minds that came into contact with his were subjugated by him, or attracted out of their natural orbits; and thus through him the decline of art became still more precipitate than it would have been without him. Correggio operated more indirectly through the Carracci, so that his unhappy imitators do not muster very strong till the seventeenth century.

Between the powerful individuality of Michelangelo and of Correggio, the divine Raphael stands midway, as the most measured, most calm, most perfect of the artists, the only one who in this respect was an equal of the Greeks. Happy the land that had such men to offer to the world!

But I beg pardon for this long digression, which smacks a little of the lecturing-desk. To go back, then, to the works of our Correggio. His simple, naïve and delicate, but also somewhat morbidly excited nature is best of all expressed in the above-named paintings of his early manhood. His later works, for instance his large church-paintings, are wanting in freshness of feeling; they are somewhat conventional, and it is just from these, his conventional works, that the prevailing idea of his style has been formed.¹ On the

¹ The axiom, that results can only be understood by their processes,

other hand, whatever he represents out of Greek mythology shows him in his true element. No one has ever set before us the sensuous so instinct with spirit, so artless, and so pure, as Correggio.

Of all his pictures in the Dresden Gallery, the best preserved is fortunately the "Madonna with St. Francis." In no early work of any other artist, Michelangelo's "David" excepted, do we perceive so pronounced an individuality as in this painting, so rich in feeling and thought. The other three large church-paintings of Antonio Allegri, Nos. 169, 171, and 172, have been so shamefully used, so painted over, especially the first and last, that they can give us little pleasure now. I marvel greatly at those amateurs who can still go into raptures over the "Correggio chiaro-scuro" they find in them. These three paintings belong to the years 1524—1530.

Besides these well-known pictures by Antonio Allegri, the catalogue directs us to two others, No. 173 and No. 170. The first is a male portrait with the curious title of "Correggio's Physician," which very likely was only fastened upon it in the 18th century. It is a picture in very bad preservation, and in its present state wholly unenjoyable.

That this picture reminded Raphael Mengs of Giorgione, can only be explained by the fact that no painter has been, and still is, so thoroughly misunderstood as this same Giorgione. The face has been cleaned entirely off and then repainted, the restorer has set the mouth awry and made it silly. The hand resting on the book has not the form of Correggio's hands, and moreover, I miss that thick

applies in art-history, if anywhere. Whoever has not followed a painter in his development in his early works, need not pretend to have comprehended his character.

touch of colouring peculiar to the master. If people must give a name to this wreck of a portrait, which is always advisable, because the public can make nothing of a picture without a name, they had better make a grope at the name of Dosso, to whom the picture may really have belonged once.¹

And now, with a beating heart, I approach the "St. Magdalen" of Correggio, No. 170. According to Pungileoni, Correggio must have painted this picture in 1533, that is, a year before his death; but that is all guesswork. This Magdalen never made her appearance in public till the beginning of the 18th century.²

Of all the works imputed to Correggio, this "Reclining Magdalen" of the Dresden Gallery is one of the most popular, and therefore one of the most copied and multiplied pictures in the world. I must openly confess that, in spite of all this halo round her, this Magdalen has always left me cold.

Dare I venture to speak out my heretical opinion on the picture?

The last time I stood before it, as I was about to put down some critical remarks in my note-book, an elderly gentleman with his daughter came up to look at the supposed gem, and, as might have been expected, to utter their ecstasies over it.

¹ Director Julius Meyer, in his excellent book on Correggio, has already pronounced this picture spurious; and I cannot understand how the Director of the Gallery should have left unnoticed the judgment of a man so highly esteemed as an art-historian. Let anyone compare the hand in this portrait with the hands of the Fathers in Dosso's genuine and beautiful work, No. 138, and he will observe the same structure in both pictures, nay, even the same round shape of the finger-nails.

² See J. Meyer: "Correggio."

"Ah!" exclaimed the lady, pushing her gold spectacles nearer her eyes, "there is not another painting in the world so exquisite, so deep in feeling. The more I look at it the more I take it in, the more does it fill me with enthusiasm. I confess, Papa, I prefer this charming sinner of Correggio to all the Madonnas of Raphael and Holbein. How gloriously it would come out in our drawing-room which has the light from the north!"

"Yes; such a picture," simpered the Papa, a short, red-cheeked gentleman, "such a picture must be worth its cool five thousand."

At these enthusiastic ejaculations I stepped aside, to let the good people get a better view of the object of their admiration.

"Nay, nay," said the polite Papa, "we will not disturb you on any account, especially as we see that you know how to prize this gem of all gems. I and my daughter, Elise von Blasewitz from Plauen, whom I herewith introduce to you, we have known this picture for years; oh yes, quite an old acquaintance! We have a very good engraving too at home, so we know it by heart. But you, sir, seem to be a stranger, visiting this gallery probably for the first time."

Against my will I found myself drawn into an æsthetic conversation.

"Oh no," I replied, "I am well acquainted with this collection, although I am a foreigner."

I had then to answer a question as to my nationality.

"If I guess right," said the lady with a gracious smile, "a connoisseur?"

"Not so, but at best an art-student," said I.

"No, no," she exclaimed with affected grace, "I see by the very way you look at the pictures, that you must be a

connoisseur, for we have a good many art-scholars in Germany too."

"Too much scholarship," sneered the Papa, "a deal too much learning; it dulls the eyes, and spoils any fresh healthy enjoyment. But I suppose you consider this Magdalen of Correggio's the finest picture in the Dresden Gallery, don't you?"

"As you do me the honour of asking my opinion, it would be uncourteous not to answer with perfect sincerity. I am sorry to be obliged to give a negative answer."

"What? . . . You mean to say that you do not like it?"

"To my mind this glossy and rather coquettish Magdalen is not the work of any Italian, much less of Correggio, but most likely a Flemish painting, at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century."

The father took a step backwards, casting a significant look at his daughter, in whose face might be read an expression of deep pity.

"I beg you will not be disquieted by the rashness of my judgment," I continued.

"Very bold indeed, I think," observed Miss von Blasewitz, drily.

"Do but look more closely at the picture, and you will perhaps share my opinion, that it is not unlike the style of Adriaen van der Werff."

"Impossible! Don't you know, that this very Van der Werff is cited by all our æsthetics as the quintessence of mannerism?"

"That may be," I answered, calmly; "but in the year 1788, when the Dresden proprietor Wogatz picked out this 'Magdalen' and the 'Paris' of Van der Werff to steal, it

was not mere chance, but had a solid reason; in the eyes of that connoisseur, they were paintings of the same value."

"Really that is too bad," Miss van Blasewitz interjected; "perhaps you are joking, Sir?"

"I am sorry to say, I am in sober earnest. Have the goodness to examine the picture more narrowly. Look at the dazzling, glaring ultramarine of the mantle. Why, that is the Van der Werff colour all over; see the affected form of the fingers, the long nails, with all that light thrown on the cut edges, a thing no Italian ever did; then observe all these little stones in the foreground, how minutely they are executed, exactly as in the picture No. 1643, by Van der Werff; so with the cold miniature-like glossy vessel of ointment by the side of the Magdalen; will you also compare the foliage here with the foliage in Van der Werff's pictures (No. 1640-1641), and lastly, the cracks in this painting with the cracks in the paintings of Van der Werff and his contemporaries; and you will then perhaps be brought to confess, however reluctantly, that this picture must have been painted, if not by Adriaen van der Werff himself, yet by some contemporary and countryman of his, but in no case by an Italian, least of all an Italian that lived in the first three decades of the 16th century."

"Never," said the irritated lady with an ironical smile, "you will not convert me." She would not examine the picture more closely, but continued, "I dare say you never read the works of our Raphael Mengs? Mengs was also a connoisseur and a very great one, who was made a great deal of, and had, moreover, made a special and profound study of the divine master; well, out of all Correggio's masterpieces, Raphael Mengs gives the foremost place to

this very Magdalen, so much despised by you. And if you want more proof, our great æsthetician and poet, Wilhelm von Schlegel, has devoted to this picture one of his most charming sonnets."

"Recite it to him, Elise, do," said the Papa, delighted with his daughter's erudition.

"Oh no,—it is no good preaching to deaf ears."

"May be," I replied to this tart remark. "That is all very possible, as Mengs's taste was the taste of his age. But as for the *connoisseurship* of your æstheticians, especially of the Romantic and Neo-Catholic schools, allow me to say that I do not attach the smallest weight to it. Why, we have a new *Æsthetics* every fifty years; it is a matter of fashion. Into so patient a thing as a painting, the æsthetician will put any rubbish that comes into his head, and those who read the stuff are pleased with the fine phrases, and see in their mind's eye the Magdalen of the sonnet, very seldom the painted one. Most of us get enthusiastic, not about the reality, but about some vision of our fancy, and this divine gift of imagination makes us see just what we wish to see. But what seems to me utterly impossible is, to take this Dresden Magdalen for the work of so great an Italian painter as Correggio. Besides," I added, after a pause, "the picture is painted on copper, and no Italian painter ever used that material for his pictures before the end of the 16th century."

"What, did not Sebastiano del Piombo paint on copper?" retorted the well-read lady with a self-satisfied smile, "you had better look up your Vasari."

"You are right, Madam; I remember Vasari says in his life of Sebastiano Veneziano, that he not only painted on stone, but gave proof that one might also paint on silver, copper, tin, and other metals. Vasari takes good care,

however, not to mention a single painting on copper by Sebastiano del Piombo, and I therefore make bold to disbelieve his hasty remark. Sebastiano often painted on slate, and I myself know of several such paintings; but a picture on copper by any Italian painter of the first half of the 16th century is not known to me, much as I have searched for them.¹ The substitution of copper for panel and canvas seems to have been first introduced by the school of Antwerp; and you can find pictures on copper by Martin de Vos, Bartel Spranger, Pourbus the elder, R. Savery, Brill, Bruegel, but none by Italian masters who lived in the golden age of art."

"Criticism," observed the lady drily, while she arranged her shawl on her shoulders, "is like fire, that destroys everything it licks with its tongue. Not long ago it tried to crumple up our glorious 'Madonna' by Holbein, to-day it dares to approach another gem of this gallery, the world-renowned 'Magdalen' of Correggio. Such things may be done in Russia, where Nihilism is the fashion; but here, in our Germany, where, thank God! there are still so many and such able art-historians and connoisseurs, such venomous and perfidious attempts will come to naught. Papa, let us go further."

If the reader will allow me to make one or two more remarks on the Dresden "Magdalen" by Correggio, I should

¹ In some picture galleries we find paintings on copper ascribed by the catalogue to Italian masters who lived in the first half of the 16th century; *e.g.* in the Louvre, a "Holy Family" (No. 167) is still imputed to Dosso Dossi, but on closer examination looks more like a Flemish work; the same may be said of the "Pietà" (No. 1209) signed "BROZ . FAG ." in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, there ascribed to Bronzino. I could mention a whole series of copies painted on copper by northern artists and introduced to the public as originals, but am afraid of fatiguing my readers.

like, first of all, to raise the question whether Antonio Allegri ever painted a reading Magdalen lying on the ground? We know for certain that a "penitent" Magdalen came from his atelier,¹ but where it is at present I cannot say. Now Signor Guglielmo Brachirolli, of Mantua, has published in the "Giornale di Erudizione artistica,"² a letter by Carlo Malaspina, an official of the library at Parma, who says: "Ortensio Lando communicated in a letter to the Marchioness of Novellara, that Correggio had lately (?) painted a magnificent *reading*³ Magdalen for the magnifico Signore di Mantova." From this we may conclude that Antonio Allegri did really paint a picture with the very same subject as our No. 170, that is to say, a reading Magdalen. Then what has become of that picture?

Baldinucci asserts that about 1660 the Florentine patrician Niccolo Gaddi possessed a "Magdalen in the Desert" by Correggio, and that this picture was repeatedly copied by Cristofano Allori. That is what Baldinucci says; take it for what it is worth. But that the "reading Magdalen" in a *recumbent* posture at the Uffizi Gallery (No. 149) is not by C. Allori, as the catalogue would have us believe on the strength of Baldinucci's story, but is likewise a Flemish copy, any unprejudiced connoisseur will see at once. In this Florence copy, as in the Dresden one, the landscape in the background has altogether a Northern character. The little stones in the foreground are wanting there; instead of them we see a death's head and a vessel of ointment near the saint; and, finally, the penitent holds a

¹ This is proved by a letter of 3rd September, 1528, from Veronica Gambara to Beatrice d'Este; see Julius Meyer's "Correggio," p. 219.

² Vol. i., fascicolo xi., p. 332.

³ He does not say she is represented *lying down*.

crucifix in her left hand. To my mind this Magdalen at Florence is simply another Flemish copy, probably an older one than that at Dresden.

But it is high time to conclude this long discussion. I consider then, that this coquettish recumbent Magdalen, painted with a view to sensuous charm, does not belong to the first half of the 16th century, and consequently not to Correggio; it may very likely have originated, towards the end of that century, in the school of the Carracci. The type of this Magdalen's head has certainly something very Carracesque about it. As for the far-famed Dresden picture on copper in particular, it appears to me a copy which may have been executed towards the end of the 17th century by some Netherland artist not unconnected with Adriaen van der Werff.¹

These numerous "penitent Magdalens," who issued mostly from Bologna towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, are to me nothing but the Venus of the Venetians translated into the language of the Jesuits. Between the glorious "Sleeping Venus" of Giorgione, No. 262 in this gallery, and the "Penitent Magdalen" of Correggio (No. 170), there lies the whole breadth of the Spanish-Catholic Counter-reformation.

Of the three pictures, Nos. 503, 504, and 505, ascribed to Francesco Raibolini, called *FRANCIA*, only two belong to the master, namely the charming little "Adoration of the Kings and Shepherds" (No. 503), and the much-restored "Baptism of Christ" (No. 505). The "Madonna" (No. 504) appears to me only a studio-work of Francia's.

I have yet to mention one other work of this Ferrara-

¹ Replicas of this St. Magdalen are innumerable, and amongst them is probably the "Bolognese" original.

Bologna School, though Herr Hübner, in his catalogue, assigns it to the so-called Roman School. The "Madonna with the Infant Christ and the four Saints," in the large altar-piece by Bartolommeo da Bagnacavallo, proclaims more clearly than I could if I had a hundred tongues, that Bagnacavallo was not only a pupil but a plagiarist of Dosso. Why, at a distance this picture of his looks for all the world like a work by Dosso himself! That Bartolommeo Ramenghi was some time at Rome, and there imitated Raphael, is nothing to the purpose; he belongs to the Ferrara-Bologna School.

2. THE VENETIANS.

We come now to the painters of the Venetian Republic, whose peculiarly attractive works beam upon us from the walls of these saloons.

To our sorrow, the Venetians of the 15th century are as good as unrepresented in the Dresden Gallery. The "Holy Family," No. 228, ascribed to Gentile Bellini, is more likely a work of MARCO MARZIALE,¹ though I should not like to insist on this designation.

The bust-portrait of the "Doge, Leonardo Loredano," No. 229, is only a copy after Giambellino; the original is at the National Gallery in London, as experts have noticed long ago. Even the newly acquired picture "by Giambellino," No. 230, representing the "Virgin and Child

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give it to the indifferent Baldassare de Forli, a feeble scholar of Palmezzano, and imitator of Rondinello (i., 138).

between the Apostle Peter and St. Helen," does not belong to the master himself, but to a feeble imitator. If I mistake not, it is by a pupil of Gentile Bellini, the little known BARTOLOMMEO VENETO. The type of head in this Apostle Peter we find repeated in other Venetian pictures of the Bellini School, *e.g.*, in works of Catena, Benedetto Diana, &c. This curious character signs himself also "*Bartolommeo mezzo Veneziano e mezzo Cremonese*," *e.g.*, on a Madonna in the palace of the Senator Count Martinengo, at Venice. In the Town Gallery of Bergamo (section Lochis) is a small Madonna, signed "*Bartholomæus Venetus faciebat 1505*." ¹ Many years ago, I saw at the Count Giovanni Melzi's, at Milan, a portrait of a lady by this master—a young woman, with a small hammer in one hand and a ring in the other. On her gold bracelet was written "*Sfoza de la Ebra*" (*sfoza* is Venetian for *foggia*, that is, costume, style of dress), the colouring brilliant, the hair as if made of brass. The inscription ran: "*Bartolomeo de Venecia, F.*" Mr. Carew, of London, has also a portrait with the same signature, and the date 1506. We meet our Bartolommeo Veneziano again in a picture at the Städel Institute, Frankfort, bearing the number 11A, and ascribed to the Florentine School. It represents a young woman, fantastically dressed, with a nosegay in her right hand, a rich medallion round the neck, and a laurel wreath on the head. The curls on this head also are twisted like brass wire, as in the Dresden painting and the picture

¹ The form and movement of the hand is, in this Madonna, also quite Bellinesque; the opening of the eyelids still very hard; the form of the ear recalling more Gentile than Giovanni Bellini; the movement of Mary's arm, supporting the foot of the infant Christ, stiff and awkward, the clouds in the sky cotton-like, the colouring brilliant and of great harmony.

at Count Giovanni Melzi's. According to the statement of Piacenza,¹ there was in the Ercolani Gallery at Bologna, a Madonna with the inscription: "1509, a di 7 Aprile, Bartolamio scholaro de ZE BE" Both Piacenza, and after him the Florentine commentators of Vasari² explained this "ZE" as Giovanni; but I cannot see how this mutilated inscription admits of any other explanation than "ZENTILE BELLINI." In the Venetian territory, "Zvan" and not "Zean" is used for Giovanni; but as the above-named art-historians had never heard of our Bartolommeo Veneziano, they did not hesitate to assign that picture to the great Bartolommeo Montagna—a blunder scarcely pardonable even in a beginner.

In England, too, there are some works by Bartolommeo Veneziano, or Cremonese, whichever you like to call him. The National Gallery in London has a portrait of Lodovico Martinengo,³ bearing the following inscription: "Bartolom. Venetus faciebat M.D.XXX. XVI. ZVN." (June). A "Giorgionesque" portrait of a lady, with the same name and the same date, 1530, was in the Barker Collection. Those pictures by Bartolommeo which are not signed are generally attributed to greater masters than he was, as is the case at Dresden. For the present I am content to have drawn the attention of my readers to this little-known master, so that in future they may be on their guard about his pictures.

The authorities of the Dresden Gallery made a luckier

¹ See Baldinucci, iii., 210.

² Vol. vi., 127, Le Monnier edition.

³ The Martinengo family seems to have patronized this painter, Bartolommeo, as the Senator Martinengo, of Venice, now possesses, as an heirloom, a small picture by the master, evidently an early work.

throw in acquiring the genuine Madonna, No. 226, by ANDREA MANTEGNA. This painting belongs to the last period of the master (1497-1506), and resembles in workmanship the great altar-piece at the Casa Trivulzio, Milan (1497), the foreshortened "Dead Christ" in the Brera Gallery (1505-6), and the two pictures in the sacristy of the Church of Sant' Andrea at Mantua, one representing the "Baptism of Christ," the other the "Madonna and Child, with the Saints John the Baptist, Joseph, Zacharias, and Elizabeth."¹ These two pictures, like all the paintings of the master's later period, are painted on canvas. The Dresden painting is a good deal rubbed away, and its effect much weakened, but it still has its charms.

Some years ago the Director of this Gallery purchased at Vienna a standard work of the Old Venetian School—the great "S. Sebastian" by ANTONELLO DA MESSINA (No. 22F), unquestionably an out-and-out Venetian production. Here we detect the deep impression that Mantegna's frescoes in the Capella degli Eremitani of Padua must have made on Antonello. Here also he shows himself a master of linear perspective. Unfortunately the painting has been much restored, for instance, all the shading of the architecture has been pasted over, so has the fragment of a pillar in the foreground, also the shadows on the saint's body, and those about the eyes and the region of the forehead; the sky too is repainted, the original tone of colour in the atmosphere must have been much lighter. In spite of all this, the picture is full of interest, though it cannot be called a beautiful one. How livingly and suggestively those small figures in the

¹ On the two last-named pictures of Mantegna, compare the adverse opinion of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i., 417.

centre and background are put in, and the sentry who has gone to sleep, producing almost a comic effect ! How delicate the execution, down to the minutest detail ! And that dear little couple looking down from the terrace ! This picture must have been produced between the years 1480 and 1490. Admirable as Antonello is in his portraits, he stands before us just as barren and shiftless when the problem is to give utterance to some deep feeling of the soul. Do but compare this St. Sebastian with that inspired one of Liberale's in the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 265), and the vast interval between the Messinian artist and the Veronese will strike the eye of every student.

Of another extremely rare Venetian painter of the 15th century, the Dresden Gallery has the advantage of possessing not only one, but several works ; namely, of JACOPO DE' BARBARI, called at Nürnberg, Walch, that is the Italian (balbus, the foreigner).¹

What collector of engravings does not know the rare, delicate, and remarkable engravings marked with a Mer-

¹ The Anonymus of Morelli calls him Jacopo de Barbarino, adding *Veneziano*, that is, a native of Venice ; and Geldenhauer (" Vita Philippi Burgundi," &c.) calls him Jacobus Barbarus *Venetus*. But, notwithstanding this, some recent German writers, as Harzen (" Naumann's Archiv," 1855, i., 210) and Passavant (" Le Peintre Graveur," iii., 134), have thought good to dub him a Nürnberger, while Zani makes a Dutchman or a Frenchman of him. Professor Thausing, however, in his " Dürer," not only assigned to Jacob Walch his rightful place in art history, but restored him to his native place, Venice. And, in fact, the few known paintings by him, as also the greater part of his engravings, expressly style him a Venetian. Several of his hitherto unrecognised works are ascribed, as we shall see, either to Giovanni Bellini or to Antonello da Messina, others again to the Old-Florentine or even the Ferrara-school of painting.

cury's Caduceus? If the engravings of this master are rare, his paintings are a great deal more so. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the most conscientious of art historians, include only four in their inventory—the two female Saints, Nos. 1876 and 1877 in this gallery, a Christ in the Weimar collection, and lastly the Still-life (of the year 1504) in the Augsburg Gallery. To Professor Moritz Thausing of Vienna belongs the merit of having set in a clear light the exact relation in which this Proteus, half Italian and half German, stood to the great Dürer. If any of my readers wish to be better informed on Jacopo de' Barbari, let them consult Thausing's exemplary book on Albert Dürer, chap. x.

The new Dresden Catalogue of 1876 adds to the two above-named pictures of Barbari a *third*, namely, "Christ Blessing" (No. 1875). Let us now examine more closely these three paintings of our Venetian. In the catalogue of 1867, the "Christ Blessing" was still assigned to Lucas of Leyden; while the two saints, "Catherine" and "Barbara" (Nos. 1795 and 1796 of that catalogue), were mentioned as works of an unknown painter, although Mr. Renouvier had many years before identified these side-panels of a triptych as a work of Jacopo de' Barbari. At last in the new catalogue, Herr Hübner has felt prompted to acknowledge all three pictures, the "Christ Blessing" and the two Saints, as works of Barbari, a step on which we heartily congratulate him. All the three paintings, but especially the two Saints, bear a mixed Venetian-German character, and are therefore much more likely to have been produced on this side of the Alps than at Venice. The features peculiar to the master in these pictures are the following:

- a. All the three heads have the mouth half open.

b. All three have the upper eyelid very prominent, and springing out of a deep pucker.

c. All three have a round skull, and the point of the thumb is strikingly round and clubby.

Other characteristics of the master are the full flexible longitudinal folds of the drapery, the small and highly-placed orifice of the ear, the very long limbs of the female figures, &c. Now every one of these characteristics is forthcoming in a *fourth* picture of this Gallery (No. 27), which is attributed, with a query, to Sandro Botticelli. The first time I saw this "Galatea standing on a Dolphin" it gave me the impression of a Flemish-Italian work; on a more searching scrutiny, I saw plainly stamped on it the style of Jacopo de' Barbari. It is true the Galatea's mouth is smudged over, but I feel confident that, if cleaned, that feature peculiar to Barbari, the half-open mouth, would come to light.¹

The "Christ" in the Weimar collection, which is still Venetian in expression, another "Christ" in the possession of Director Lippmann at Berlin, and the "Still Life" at the Augsburg Gallery, are likewise pictures that Jacopo must have executed on this side of the Alps, the strong influence that Northern Art had exercised on the Venetian being unmistakable in them.

To these seven pictures of Barbari, possessed by Germany, I take the liberty of adding an *eighth*, a capital male portrait, which, I have been told, the late Otto Mündler had already recognised as a Jacopo de' Barbari. This interesting and very pleasing portrait is to be found

¹ Notice also the pose of the legs, the eye with its peculiarities, the thick end of the thumb, and so on; the painting, has, however, suffered much.

in the Gallery of the Belvedere at Vienna (Room 4, No. 36), and is assigned in Director von Engert's catalogue, to the Old-Florentine School. To designate the master still better, Herr von Engert thought proper to pronounce it akin to the paintings of Massaccio (*sic*) da S. Giovanni; therefore, in any case, Florentine, as the "Galatea" is in the eyes of his brother Director at Dresden. In both these capitals then, on the Elbe and on the Danube, they seem to have formed pretty much the same notion of the character of the Old-Florentine School.

The portrait in the Vienna Gallery represents a young man of Italian appearance and in Venetian costume, in black dress and black cap; but, above him, to the left, is introduced a little lamp, which, to my eyes, looks very Northern in colouring, while the whitish curtain, arabesqued with leaf-work, behind him on the other side, recalls the manner of Giorgione and his imitators, such as B. Boccaccino, Marco Marziale, &c. The portrait itself is executed after the method introduced at Venice by A. da Messina, and adopted even by Giovanni Bellini in the last two decades of the 15th century. In this picture, again, it is chiefly the half-open mouth, the prominent upper eyelids, the deep, distinct lachrymal pits, as well as the treatment of the mass of hair, that reveal to us the hand of Jacopo de' Barbari.

The best-known engravings by the master of the Caduceus date, I believe, chiefly from Nuremberg and Belgium, and therefore belong to the last twenty years of his life. Jacopo, moreover, furnished drawings for engravers both on copper and on wood: suffice it here to mention one or two. One, a copper-plate in the collection of the Ambrosiana at Milan, represents a girl fallen asleep in the arms of a young man; it is signed "Z. A.," that is "Zuan Andrea."

The drawing betrays Jacopo de' Barbari, and the engraving seems to me to be an early work of Zuan Andrea. Another is the great "View of Venice," engraved on wood at Venice in 1500, by a German, whom his friend, Anton Kolb of Nuremberg, then settled at Venice, appears to have fetched from over the Alps.¹ Barbari's drawing in this plate is still altogether in the broad Venetian style;² his later drawings, such as the "Rape of the Tritons," in the Dresden collection, begin to be finer and more pointed in their treatment, betraying the influence of the Northern method. The Malaspina collection at Pavia has also some engravings and drawings by our Jacopo—allegories and triumphal processions of satyrs.

Jacopo de' Barbari, besides supplying engravers at Venice with drawings, must also have received from his countrymen many commissions as a painter. His German friend, Kolb of Nuremberg (as we learn from one of Dürer's letters to Pirckheimer), thought him the "greatest painter in the world." Yet he could not have been so very highly honoured at home, or he would scarcely have left Venice, and Vasari never mentions him at all.

Among the paintings executed by Jacopo in his native country, I reckon the celebrated frescoes which adorn the beautiful plastic monument of the Senator Agostino Onigo in the Church di San Niccolò at Treviso. The memorial had been ordered in 1490, and its pictorial embellishment may probably have been executed in the last years of the 15th century. These beautiful frescoes represent two

¹ The original blocks are in the Museo Correr, at Venice.

² That is, done with a broad pen, like the early works of Titian, Seb. del Piombo, Domenico, Campagnola, Giambellini, &c. A similar drawing with the Caduceus is in the Uffizi collection; it is a sketch for a martyrdom, probably of St. Sebastian.

warriors or heralds standing on both sides of the monument, one holding a long sword in his right hand, and the other an iron mace, a so-called *morgenstern*,¹ two figures full of life, bearing on their faces the stamp of the Bellini School, and therefore also ascribed to Giovanni Bellini by Vasari, and even by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 171), while Carlo Ridolfi² gives them to Antonello da Messina.³ The upper and lower parts of the memorial are, moreover, adorned with arabesques, painted grey in grey, the sides with trophies. Among the arabesques, below the monument, are two medallions, representing fights of horsemen, sirens carried by centaurs, satyrs, &c.: and it is these figures, painted grey in grey, with that round form of head so peculiar to Jacopo de' Barbari, that remove the last doubt of the accuracy of our designation.⁴ We find the same spirit and the same technique in certain figures among the arabesques that enrich the upper part of the front of a house (No. 1548, Piazza della Cattedrale) at Treviso; so that we are inclined to attribute these paintings also to Barbari.

¹ Sword and mace are likewise borne by Bramante's two "heralds," painted al fresco, in a room of the Casa Prinetti, Via Lanzone 4, at Milan.

² "Le Maraviglie dell' Arte," i., 86.

³ The warrior with the sword is much injured by time; the other, with the "morning-star," on the right side of the tomb, is very well preserved, and in him are plainly to be seen the features peculiar to Barbari. The technical treatment of the mass of hair on this head strongly reminds one of the portrait in the Belvedere at Vienna, as well as of the head of Christ (No. 1802) in the Dresden collection.

⁴ These equestrian combats recall the two well-known engravings of Barbari, in which there are also fights between men and satyrs; and the drawing at the Dresden Gallery, with the "Rape of the Sirens," is but a modified repetition of the same thought, which Jacopo has here expressed in colours under the tomb of Onigo.

The memorial of the Senator Agostino Onigo, at Treviso, like that of the Admiral Melchior Trevisani, in the second chapel to the right of the choir of the church Sta. Maria Gloriosa de Frari, at Venice, is a well-known work of the Lombardi.¹ This latter tomb, executed in 1500, is likewise adorned at the sides with trophies painted in chiaroscuro, and above with sea-gods, half man, half fish. On closer examination of these paintings, we cannot refrain from agreeing with Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, of Bergamo,² who assigns this work also to Jacopo de' Barbari. We may conclude, from these wall paintings by Barbari, that he must have worked in common with his countrymen, the sculptors Lombardi. Such an artistic relation subsisting between the painter and the sculptors would very well explain, not only the style of composition in many of his engravings, but the very peculiar character of his draperies. These close-fitting, exact, longitudinal folds recall distinctly the folding of drapery in the two Lombardi, more particularly in Tullio Lombardi.

That Jacopo de' Barbari, in his youth, was strongly influenced, both by Giovanni Bellini, and still more by Antonello da Messina, is shown by the very fact of celebrated art critics ascribing his works, as we have seen, some to Bellini, and others to Antonello.

I have to mention one more painting of this early Venetian period (1480—1490). It is the bust-portrait of a young man in Venetian costume, on a black background, which is exhibited as No. 201, at the town gallery of Bergamo, section Lochis. This picture has suffered

¹ The good statue of Trevisani is almost certainly by Antonio Lombardi, and I suppose that he also worked at the memorial of Onigo, with his brother Tullio.

² See "Archivio Veneto," tomo xv.—xvi., 1878.

damage,¹ and is nothing like so well preserved as the portrait in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. In the shape of the mouth and eyes, as well as the light and shade in the curls, I felt sure I recognised our Jacopo, while the catalogue of the Gallery very strangely assigns this interesting portrait to the younger Holbein. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have, with better knowledge, delivered the following verdict (ii., 98, note 3): "This panel has Belinesque and Antonellesque character, is transparent, but a little empty in tone."

Now, if my view of the authorship of the "Galatea" at Dresden, the portraits at Vienna and Bergamo, the drawing for Zuan Andrea's engraving in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and finally the wall-paintings at Treviso, be correct, of which I am fully convinced, it follows that this Venetian has hitherto been less known than he deserved to be; and I therefore invite any student to follow up more closely the traces of this mobile and easily influenced, but always ingenious artist. In Germany, and especially in Belgium, one might surely discover some more of his works that are still unknown or left unnoticed under false names.

Jacopo de' Barbari must have been born at Venice about 1450. It is not known who was his first master. There can be no doubt that he was afterwards greatly influenced by Giovan Bellini (1470-1480), and especially by Antonello da Messina (from 1480 to 1490). The portrait in the Gallery of Bergamo must be of this latter period. His first journey over the Alps I would place about the year

¹ It is grounded with tempera colours, and glazed in oil after the method of Antonello and Giovanni Bellini. The glazing in this portrait is in many places rubbed off.

1490. I am led to this hypothesis by the words of Albert Dürer :¹ "that he knew of no one that had shown how to do the human figure in proportion, save a man named Jacobus, a *native of Venice*, a good and delectable painter." Now Dürer would hardly have added those words, "a native of Venice," if his first meeting with Jacobus had been at Venice itself in 1494. He continues, "he showed me man and woman as he had done them after the rules of proportion, so that in those days I would rather see what his opinion was than a new kingdom," &c. ; "but," he adds, "I was at that time still *young*, and had never heard of such things." At the date I am thinking of, 1490, Dürer was about nineteen. This hypothesis of mine finds a further support in the time of apprenticeship of the painter, Hans von Kulmbach, who is justly regarded as a pupil of Jacopo de' Barbari, and who, in 1490, must have been about thirteen or fourteen years old.² But be that as it may, it seems to me in any case a very credible thing, that Barbari had been north of the Alps some time before 1500. Some of his engravings, "Mars and Venus," for instance, have a decidedly Northern character, and therefore may well be regarded as his first attempts in the art of engraving. Most of his engravings, however, belong to the last years of his life, which were spent on this side of the Alps, partly at Nürnberg, partly at Brussels ; and to learn the art of engraving may have been the chief motive of his first journey to the north.

Whether Barbari had already adopted the caduceus of Mercury as a monogram *before* the publication of his great

¹ See Thausing's Dürer, 222, and Von Zahn's Annuals, 1st year, p. 14.

² Hans von Kulmbach kept so closely to his master's manner, that he imitated even his peculiarities as to the half-open mouth, the shape of the hand, &c.

wood engraving with the view of Venice, 1500, I unfortunately cannot say, as I have here no collection at my command, with all, or even the greater part of his engravings. I therefore leave it to others to answer the question. I am satisfied to have drawn the attention of my readers, however hastily, to several works of art which, in my opinion, belong to Barbari, and are calculated to set this interesting artist-figure in a new and clearer light. To judge from his paintings and engravings, Barbari was of a gentle, soft, pliable nature. In 1502, he seems to have already settled down at Nürnberg; and in the first few years of the 16th century he came into close contact with Dürer, and exercised an influence on that giant in art which can be clearly traced in some of his paintings and engravings of that period.¹

At Brussels, in 1511, in consideration of his "old age and infirmities," Jacopo de' Barbari was pensioned by the Archduchess Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, and in 1515 he was already no more.²

The chronological order in which we have thus far taken the Venetian paintings in these rooms would now lead us to the pictures ascribed in the catalogue to Giorgione, but I think it advisable to mention first those pictures which Herr Hübner has assigned to another son of the Marca Trevisana, namely VICENZO CATENA. The "Madonna

¹ See Thausing, as above, pp. 222-235.

² Unfortunately, an interesting article by Charles Ephrussi, in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts" of the year 1876, was brought under my notice too late to help me in my own studies. But I am glad to see that this intelligent art-critic is also of the opinion that Jacopo visited Nürnberg before 1494 (p. 374), and that probably the Venetian may there have learnt of Wohlgemuth the technique of engraving (pp. 376 and 378). I should, however, rather think of the school of Schöngauer than that of Wohlgemuth.

and Child between the Saints Margaret and Catherine, Antony and Nicolas of Bari" (No. 231) has in the catalogue the name of Catena, to which master, also, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think fit to assign the picture (i., 257); but it seems to me to belong to another Trevisan, FRANCESCO BISSOLO, who, like Catena, sprang out of the school of Giovanni Bellini. On the other hand, what I consider a genuine work of Catena's is the "Holy Family" (No. 58), which Mr. Hübner mentions as a picture executed by Sassoferrato, after a drawing by Raphael (!). I am glad that, in this case at least, my opinion agrees with that of the celebrated historiographers (i., 256). The form of the ear and of the hands is quite in accordance with those in the picture at the Pesth Gallery signed with the name of Catena; the peculiar light, too, is the same here as in the pictures in the National Gallery at London, and in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt. Here also we come upon the same little dog as in the fine picture at the National Gallery (No. 234).¹

Giorgio Barbarella or Barbarelli, called GIORGIONE, was, like Bissolo and Catena, a native of the Marca Trevisana. Hübner's catalogue ascribes to this very rare master not less than five pictures, Nos. 240, 241, 242, 243, and one, lately acquired, bearing the number 244. Let us examine these pictures one by one.

No. 240 represents "Jacob saluting and embracing Rachel." I do not know any picture by PALMA VECCHIO where the master shows himself so amiable, so bright, and in such poetic mood as in this charming idyl, for that it is

¹ Representing an enthroned "Madonna with the Child," before her a kneeling knight; this picture was formerly ascribed to Giorgione, now it is assigned to the "School of Giovanni Bellini."

his work is clearly shown by the sturdy and somewhat heavy figure of Rachel, the rose-pink flesh colours peculiar to his third or "blonde" period (1550-1525), and also the very type of face in Rachel, which agrees with that of his Venus in this gallery (No. 269). And the sitting shepherd, whose ear alone would betray the master, is also drawn and painted in Palma's manner. On the other hand, if we look at the beautiful, broadly-treated landscape, with the herd of cattle, such a landscape as no Flemish painter could have painted at that time, we cannot help seeing in it a freer and later style than that of the Bergamese, such as, for instance, that of his talented pupil, Bonifazio Veronese. It seems to me, therefore, that Bonifazio may have had some share in the execution of this charming picture.¹

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark, with their usual acuteness, that many figures in this picture, especially the Jacob and Rachel, resemble the shepherds in the upland valleys of Bergamo, that their movements and gestures point more to the school of Palma than to the manner of Giorgione; but, to my regret, they add, that they cannot give this picture either to Giorgione or to Palma, and are therefore obliged to ascribe it to Cariani, especially as the initials on Rachel's bag, "G. B. F.," may very well be interpreted as "Giovanni Busi fece" (vol. ii., 555).

To this I rejoin, in the first place, that Cariani never

¹ On this picture see M. A. Gualandi (iii., 179-194). Matteo del Teglia, picture agent at Venice for the Grand-duke of Tuscany, recommends to his patron in an aviso the purchase of this painting. The picture was at that time (1684) in a nunnery at Treviso, and passed for a work of Giorgione. The significant initials, "G. B. F.," are not mentioned in Teglia's letter. It appears, therefore, that they were put in later, after the picture had come into private hands.

signed himself Busi, but always Joanes Carianus.¹ Again, Cariani is more clumsy in his forms, blacker in his shadows, he conceives the landscape quite differently from Palma, and seems, in all his works, much weaker than the author of this highly poetical work. It is true, Cariani and Bonifazio were both pupils of Palma. But as the former can never belie his somewhat unwieldy mountain nature, so the latter displays in all his pictures the graceful, sprightly conception and representation of the imaginative Veronese.

The second Giorgionesque painting in the Dresden Gallery (No. 241) represents the "Adoration of the Shepherds." In the Casa Pisani at Venice, to which it formerly belonged, it passed for a Palma Vecchio; it is, therefore, only at Dresden that it has been raised to a Giorgione. In my opinion, it is an indisputable work of BONIFAZIO JUNIOR. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also,

¹ So on the "Resurrection of Christ," in the Casa Marazzi at Crema of the year 1520; so on the "Madonna and Child between Saints Jerome and Francis," in possession of Signor Frizzoni-Salis of Bergamo; so on the fine portrait in the Lochis-Carrara collection, Bergamo; so on the "Madonna," at Signor Francesco Baglioni's, Bergamo, of the year 1521, and so on. And if Cariani had signed his name in Italian, contrary to the custom of that time, he would have written "Zuan de Busi," not "Giovanni Busi." The initials, "G. B.," in the intention of the forger who had them put on, certainly do not stand for "Giovanni Busi," who was scarcely thought of at that time, but evidently for "Giorgio Barbarelli." Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem often to confound the two pupils of Palma Vecchio, the Bergamese Cariani and the Veronese Bonifazio. I see, in their chapter on Cariani, that they ascribe to him (ii., 557) the two large pictures at the Belvedere in Vienna (ground floor, Room I., Nos. 7 and 11), "Cupid's Triumphal Procession," and "Victory of Virtue over Love," whereas, beyond a doubt, they belong to Bonifazio, as Carlo Ridolfi ("Vite dei Pittori," i., 376) had already described them. Another time they take Previtali for Cariani—these, at all events, were children of one soil—as in the fresco lunette over the side door of the Church Santa Maria Maggiore, at Bergamo.

in examining this picture, were "reminded of Bonifazio" (ii., 163).

The third picture mentioned in the catalogue as a work of Giorgione represents a man embracing a girl (No. 242). It is a trivial picture, recalling in its conception Michelangelo da Caravaggio. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe it to the Domenico Mancini, whom they so often mention. I confess I do not know the master of this picture, but I also think it likely that he was a native of the Marca Trevisana.

The fourth picture with the name of Giorgione is a male portrait, said to represent Pietro Aretino. To my eyes, this portrait is neither a work of Giorgione, nor does it represent Pietro Aretino, who, being born in 1492, was only nineteen when Giorgione died, while the man represented here is manifestly of a maturer age. This portrait is, moreover, so smudged and disfigured, that it is downright unworthy to be exhibited in a public gallery.

The fifth picture of Giorgione that this gallery prides itself on possessing, is an allegorical representation, and, as Herr Hübner fancies, out of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso." Let me remind Herr Hübner that the first edition of "Orlando Furioso" appeared only in the year 1516, five years after Giorgione's death. Herr A. Baschet has also mentioned this picture as a work of Giorgione, and so have Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii., 154), yet they ascribe it to Girolamo Pennacchi. In my opinion it is an old copy of a genuine picture of Giorgione's; whether the original still exists, I cannot say.

After a review of the works ascribed to Giorgione in this gallery and at Munich, by the greatest authorities of all times, my young friends may have convinced themselves, that this great artist, who divides with Giovanni

Bellini and Titian the honour of being the grandest figure among the Venetian painters, has, for some centuries, become a kind of myth ; that all his works turn out to be somebody else's. Whilst at Munich he is confounded with Titian and Palma Vecchio, Herr Hübner's catalogue of the Dresden Gallery ascribes to him works belonging either to Palma himself or to one of his pupils ; always, therefore, to direct or indirect imitators of Giorgione. Elsewhere, paintings of Sebastian del Piombo, Lorenzo Lotto, or Dosso Dossi are assigned to him, not to speak of imitations by a Domenico Caprioli or a Pietro Vecchia, whom they would fain stuff into the shoes of the master of Castelfranco.

Amid this general confusion, how are we to gain any real insight or clearness about this most refined and imaginative of all the Venetians ? That Giorgione was really great in his art is proved both by the high opinion that his contemporaries had of him, and still more by the deep and far-reaching influence he exercised on the most talented of his fellow-pupils and contemporaries. There is only one way to get out of the labyrinth, namely, and first of all, to examine well and make our own the authentic works that have come down to us. The following are the few well-accredited works of the master :—

1. The great altar-piece in the Church of Castelfranco. Unfortunately, this wonderful painting was so dreadfully daubed over, a few years ago, by the Venetian so-called restorer, Fabris, that one can no longer see the original harmony of colouring, but only guess it. Naja, of Venice, has taken a fairly good photo of this picture, which I recommend my young students to get.

2. " The landscape (on canvas), with the storm, the gipsy woman, and the soldier " (*El paesetto in tela, con la tempesta, con la zingana e soldato*), seen by the Anonymus

of Morelli in 1530 at the house of Master Gabriel Vendramin (p. 80). This most delightful picture, brimming with fancy, afterwards came to the Manfrin Gallery, whence it was purchased, a few years ago, by Prince Giovanelli, of Venice. Of this painting too, which is well preserved, one may obtain a good photograph at Naja's.

3. "La tela a olio delli tre filosofi nel paese, due ritti e uno sentado che contempla i raggi solari" (Anonymus of Morelli, p. 65); that is, the oil-painting on canvas, with the three philosophers in an open landscape, two standing, and one sitting and in the act of contemplating the sunbeams.

This picture, says the Anonymus, was begun by Zorzi (Giorgio) da Castelfranco, and finished by Sebastiano Veneziano (Seb. del Piombo). In the year 1525 it was in the house of Master Taddeo Contarini, at Venice; it is now to be seen, in very bad condition, at the Belvedere Gallery of Vienna.

Of Giorgione's pictures seen by Vasari some thirty years later at Venice, and specified by him, the wall-paintings on the fronts of houses are long ago consumed by the salt air, the others are probably hidden away in some Italian Palazzo or some English country-seat; I never had the luck to get sight of one of them.

That very uncritical *painter*, Carlo Ridolfi, who lived in the middle of the 17th century, mentions foremost among many other works of Barbarelli, now rejected by the latest researches,¹ the so-called "Concert" in the Pitti

¹ As, for instance, "Cajus Plotius and Cajus Luscius" (Room 2, No. 10, of the Belvedere); the two pictures by Dosso ("St. Sebastian," at the Brera Gallery, No. 354, and the "David" of the Borghese Collection at Rome).

Gallery at Florence (No. 185). The picture was at that time still in the hands of the Florentine merchant, Paolo del Sera, settled at Venice. Del Sera was a so-called amateur, who, however, did not disdain to do a stroke of business with his pictures when he could, and now and then was pleased to part with works of art in his possession to his patron, the Grand-duke of Tuscany.¹ Such Venetian pictures then came to Florence, with the names given them by Del Sera, or it might be by Del Teglia, another purveyor at Venice employed by the Grand-duke; and there they have kept their names down to this day. And such was the case with the celebrated "Concerto di Musica" of the Pitti Gallery. This painting has, unhappily, been so bedaubed by a restorer, that, in its present state, one can see but very little of the original. From the form of the hands and the ear, and from the attitudes of the figures, we may conclude for certain that it is not a work of Giorgione; it also belongs to a later period than 1500. Were the mask that covers it removed, a youthful work of Titian's might very likely step into view.

If, in the 17th century, it were mostly works of Titian's youth, of Sebastiano del Piombo, Palma Vecchio, and Dosso Dossi, that art-historians ascribed to Giorgione, the same honour was done in the last century to the two elder Bonifazios. The "Adoration of the Shepherds" (No. 241), which came from Venice to the Elbe under the name of Palma Vecchio, was here elevated to a Giorgione at that time; the same name was given to the "Holy Family with the little Tobias" in the Ambrosiana, to the magnificent "Finding of Moses" (No. 363) at the Brera Gallery, and

¹ See M. A. Gualandi's "Nuova raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scoltura ed architettura," iii., 167 *seq.*

to the representation of the same subject on a small scale at the Pitti Gallery (No. 161); to say nothing of the so-called Giorgiones out of the studio of the Bonifazios in private collections.

It is but one of the many fables that have arisen out of municipal vanity, when Vasari records that Giorgio Barbarelli learned his new method of painting from the pictures of Lionardo da Vinci. Where, in Venice, could Giorgione have seen, in his time, paintings by Lionardo? Again, some writers assert that Giovanni Bellini, in his picture of the year 1505, painted for the Church of St. Zaccaria at Venice, modified his former manner of painting after the new system of Giorgione. This statement, again, is directly contradicted by the great altar-piece done by Giovanni Bellini for the Church of St. Giobbe, at Venice, in the last decade of the 15th century.¹ The pupil may very likely have learned from his master, but not the converse, and I think Dürer was quite right, when, in a letter from Venice (1506) to his friend Pirckheimer, he declares Giovanni Bellini to be still the greatest painter in Venice. It was only in the last six years of his short life, from about 1505 to 1511, that Giorgione developed his full, his total power. His few works that have come down to us (all his wall-paintings have been consumed by the sea air) show such an original and highly poetical mind, his simple, unprejudiced, and fine artist-nature speaks out of them so freshly, so winningly, that whoever has once understood him can and will never forget him. No other artist knows like him how to captivate our mind and chain our imagination for hours with such small means; and yet we

¹ This magnificent but much injured picture is at the Pinacothec of Venice (No. 38).

often do not know, in the least, what those figures of his really stand for. Vasari already remarked that it was difficult to give Giorgione's representations an explanatory name.¹ Giorgione was a genuine, harmless, cheerful nature, a lyric poet, in contrast with Titian, who was wholly dramatic. The latter is, no doubt, a more powerful and energetic mind, whilst Giorgione is, to my thinking, an artist of much finer grain. In his landscape backgrounds, in the charm of his outlines and colouring, few have equalled and none surpassed Giorgione, excepting, perhaps, Titian. His love was given to music, beautiful women, and, above all, to his noble art. No one was so independent as he; to the great and powerful of this world he remained indifferent, to none of them did he sacrifice, as, for instance, Titian did, his freedom and, still less, his dignity. So Vasari paints him to us, and I believe the likeness is true to life.

Unfortunately, the works of Giorgione are extremely rare. They are mostly so-called cabinet pictures; it is only exceptionally that he seems to have undertaken church paintings. The Anonymus of Morelli counts no more than about a dozen of his pictures in all, as existing at Venice in his time, that is, between 1512 and 1540; a second dozen Vasari has incidentally described, and I believe I could point out as many more. If my young friends cannot go after these pictures themselves, I advise them at least to get the photographs, for a student ought daily to look into the face of such a master as Giorgione, so that he may gradually absorb into himself the forms and the mind of this most exquisite of the Venetians. I shall now enumerate chronologically the works which are acces-

¹ See Vasari, "Life of Giorgione," edit. Le Monnier, vii., 84.

sible to everyone, and which, in my opinion, belong to Giorgione.

1. The so-called "Fire Ordeal" and the "Judgment of Solomon" are probably the oldest of his works that have come down to us. These two most interesting early works of the master are to be found in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence (Nos. 621 and 630); they are productions of the 15th century, and Giorgione may have painted them in his sixteenth or eighteenth year. In them we already find the features characteristic of him, namely, the long oval of the female faces, the eyes brought rather too near the nose, the fantastic way of dressing the figures, the hand with an outstretched forefinger, the poetical landscapes in the background, with high-stemmed trees, &c.

2. "Christ bearing the Cross" (bust), on panel. This penetrative-looking head, which has unfortunately suffered much by restorations, still, like the two former pictures, reminds one strongly of his master, Giovanni Bellini. In possession of Countess Loschi at Vicenza.

3. "The enthroned Madonna, with the Saints Francis and Liberalis," at the Church of Castelfranco. Principal picture.

4. The stormy landscape, with "the gipsy woman and soldier," at Senator Prince Giovanelli's, Venice.

5. "Madonna, with the Infant Christ, seated on a throne, to the right St. Antony, to the left St. Rochus;" landscape in the background. On canvas. This magnificent painting, still in good condition, is at the Madrid Museum, and is mentioned in the gallery catalogue (No. 418) as a work of Pordenone, whilst Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe it to Francesco Vecelli (ii., 292). I confess that it gave me no little joy, when visiting Madrid, to recognise at once in this marvel of Venetian painting a creation of

Giorgione. It has been photographed by Laurent as a Pordenone, and I advise students to get the photo.

6. The much injured, but quite genuine "Knight of St. John," in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence (No. 622), recognised also by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle as a work of Giorgione. To think of a painter like Pier della Vecchia in presence of this finely conceived head is nothing short of heresy.

7. "Daphne and Apollo," a small panel picture, in the collection of the Seminario Vescovile at Venice. Much disfigured by restorations in oil colour.¹

8. The so-called "Three Stages of Life," in the Pitti Gallery at Florence (No. 157), there ascribed to Lorenzo Lotto. This beautifully conceived picture is, unfortunately, much concealed by repainting; the half-shaded head of the boy with a piece of music in his hand is, however, still so splendid and so thoroughly Giorgionesque that without any further credentials I make bold to ascribe the picture to Giorgione.

9. The so-called "Concert" in the Louvre Gallery at Paris (No. 39). This fine idyllic picture has been, unfortunately, much disfigured by repainting. Titian, in one of his wall-paintings at the "Scuola del Santo" at Padua, has reproduced the beautiful head of the youth with long hair (the zazzera as the Italian calls it), whom we see in this picture seated on the ground.

10. The Esterhazy Gallery at Pesth, rich in exquisite pictures of the Italian schools, has also a work by Giorgione, but, I believe, only as a fragment (No. 143). Two young men, carelessly attired in Venetian dress of

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii., 165) ascribe this picture to Andrea Schiavone.

the 15th century, and barefooted, stand on a hill; behind them, a little higher up, is a country-house. It is dawn, and far off we spy the sea with the first rays of the sun shining on it. One of these fine-looking men leans his left arm on the other's shoulder, and points significantly at something that is apparently going on not far from them. If I mistake not, this picture is probably a fragment of a work by Giorgione mentioned by the Anonymus of Morelli (p. 65):—"1525, in casa de M. Taddeo Contarino: La tela del paese con el nascimento de Paris, con li *dui pastori ritti in piede*, fu de mano de Zorzo de Castelfranco, e fu delle sue prime opere."

In that case, we have here before us only the two shepherds of Mount Ida under whose care young Paris grew up. The other half of the picture, in which his birth was represented, is, unfortunately, missing. The landscape in this picture vividly recalls that which we admire in the "Venus" of the Dresden Gallery (No. 236).

The Gallery of Pesth has also another picture bearing the name of Giorgione. It is the portrait of a Young Man (No. 156), very finely and nobly conceived. His black velvet coat, open at the breast, shows a piece of the white shirt; the long brown hair is parted and gathered in a net; his right arm leans on a cornice, his left hand lies on the breast. It is with reluctance that we part from this melancholy figure; his significant face holds the spectator spell-bound, as if he were about to confide to him the secret of his life. This portrait is much damaged, and very little of the master is to be recognised in the workmanship. I prefer, therefore, not to include this painting in the list of Giorgione pictures which I consider undoubtedly genuine.¹

¹ I take this opportunity to express my surprise that among so many clever men in Germany who have given themselves to the study of

11. Among Giorgio Barbarelli's last paintings was that of the aforesaid "Three Philosophers" in the Belvedere Gallery, Vienna, which the Anonymus saw at the house of Taddeo Contarini in 1525.¹

The Anonymus also put down in his note-book another picture by Giorgione, which was at that time in the house of Jeronimo Marcello at San Tommado: "la tela della Venere nuda, che dorme in un paese con Cupidine, fù de mano de Zorzo da Castelfranco; ma lo paese e Cupidine furono finiti da Tiziano" (the canvas with a naked Venus sleeping in an open landscape, is from the hand of Giorgio of Castelfranco; the landscape and the Cupid were finished by Titian.—Anon. of Morelli, p. 66). We shall come back directly to this remarkable and quite forgotten picture. I wish first to observe that the same Anonymus in the year 1530 saw yet another picture by Giorgione at the house of Gabriel Vendramin: "El Cristo morto sopra el sepolcro, con l'anzolo che el sostenta, fù de man

Italian art, there should not be one who has taken up this fine collection, and placed its merits in a true light. It contains two excellent pictures by Correggio; two by Raphael, one unfinished, the other a male portrait, abominably injured; of the Lombards: a beautiful picture by Boltraffio, another by Cesare da Sesto, two exquisite Madonnas by Luini, one by Ambrogio Borgognone, one by Giampietrino; of the Venetians: the portrait of Catarina Cornaro by Gentile Bellini, a good picture by Carlo Crivelli, one (perhaps two) by Giorgione, one by Vincenzo Catena, one by Marco Basaiti; by the Northern artists: a portrait by A. Dürer, a picture by Lucas van Leiden, and many others; then some excellent works of the Dutch, Flemish, and Spanish schools.

Among the drawings: three by Lionardo da Vinci, several by Raphael, Fra Bartolommeo, Michelangelo and Dürer, one by Lucas van Leiden, several by Holbein, &c.

¹ It afterwards came into the hands of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor of the Netherlands, and we find it reproduced on a small scale in the picture by D. Teniers at the Belvedere (Room VIII., No. 34).

de Zorzi da Castelfranco, reconzato de Tiziano ” (the Dead Christ on the tomb, with the angel supporting Him, is from the hand of Giorgio of Castelfranco, restored by Titian). We learn from this, that Giorgione had also painted a so-called Pietà; whether this picture is still preserved, and where it is to be found, I am not able to say. But it is certain that the Anonymus could not have meant the “celebrated Dead Christ” at the Monte di Pietà of Treviso, as some have maintained, for in this last picture the Christ is supported, not by one, but by three or four angels. With the exception of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, almost all the modern critics insist on calling this Treviso painting an admirable work of Giorgione—a further proof that the great painter of Castelfranco is still anything but rightly understood, even by the greatest authorities. So far I agree with Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that this “Pietà” of Treviso is not by Giorgione. So stupid and clumsy in its forms, so heavy and dull in colouring, it can only belong to an imitator of the master, perhaps to the Trevisan Domenico Caprioli, or some contemporary of kindred spirit, but in no case to our noble and refined Giorgione.

After this long digression we come back to the picture described hastily but accurately by the Anonymus, as he saw it in the year 1525 at the house of Jeronimo Marcello at Venice: a “Sleeping Venus with Cupid in an open landscape.” This wonderful painting is generally thought to be lost; whether correctly, is another question. I believe that I can point it out, and this time I need not take my readers far. The glorious picture, hitherto veiled from the eyes of art critics, is to be found at the Dresden Gallery (No. 262). To my own satisfaction I can testify that I recognised the hand and genius of

Giorgione in this enchanting picture before I knew of its having been mentioned as such in the list of Morelli's Anonymus.

How such a work, the quintessence of Venetian art, could have been left unnoticed so long, would be a downright enigma to me, if long experience had not taught me, that in matters of art the most incredible things are possible. When I consider that the so-called "Madonna di Caitone," the supposed work of Moretto, which hangs in the adjoining room, has been admired as an original, and extolled to the skies by highly esteemed and able art-writers like Quandt and Rio, and that, on the contrary, the eyes of but very few connoisseurs have been attracted by the wondrous light that shines from this noblest of all Venuses in the world, even through the veil with which the restorer has covered it; when I consider this, a sore feeling comes over me, a deep discouragement, and I cannot help saying to myself, What avails our vaunted culture? What is the good of hundreds of books on æsthetics and art, of public lectures, of our yearly Art exhibitions, if, in default of express directions, we can pass unmoved by one of the most glorious and perfect creations that art of all times has ever brought forth? Poor, great Giorgione! how little art thou understood by this modern world! nay, how little wert thou understood by thy own countrymen soon after thy death! Was not thy radiant countenance looked for and found in pictures that hold up thy merest caricature? Whoever is unable to appreciate this Venus of Giorgione, this female form of dream-like beauty, let him not tell me that Raphael, Lionardo, Correggio, and Titian enchant him. Did ever Raphael, or any artist even among the Greeks, show a finer sense of outline than Giorgione in this Venus figure? How clumsy and boorish

seems in comparison the naked woman of Palma Vecchio on the same wall ! how earthly and devoid of inner grace is Titian's celebrated Venus with Cupid in the Tribune of the Uffizi Gallery !¹ And then that paradise of a landscape ! If this painting could with intelligence and great care be freed from the dirt and the restorer's mask of colouring, I believe this Venus of Giorgione would rank among the most precious gems, not only of the Dresden, but of all galleries in the world. If this Venus, which became the prototype of that kind of love-picture to the Venetian school, be placed by the side of Titian's celebrated Venuses, or beside his Danaë figures, one will easily imagine how Giorgione towers above all his imitators in fineness of feeling, in nobility of conception. Titian's Danaë is so realistic, nay, to be candid, so vulgarly imagined, that the old woman at her side makes us involuntarily think of a common procuress. Beside the Venus of Botticelli in the corridors of the Uffizi Gallery, beside Correggio's Danaë in the Borghese Palace at Rome, this sleeping Venus of Giorgione is—yes, realistic too, but in the finest, noblest sense of the word. The fact is, Giorgione was a healthier, happier, and more powerful nature than Correggio ; besides, the latter aimed at something quite different in his Danaë from what the Venetian did in his sleeping Venus. Sensuous pleasure has never been set before us so spiritualized as in Correggio's Danaë, and in his Leda of the Berlin Gallery. How coarse-grained are all the Venuses and Danaës of a Titian by the side of them ! Yet I readily admit, that in technical

¹ This in so many respects excellent painting by Titian was almost entirely ruined by a new restoration about two years ago, and is no longer enjoyable in its present state.

mastership, in utmost skill of the brush, in artistic distribution of light and shade, no painter in Italy ever came up to old Titian.

Carlo Ridolfi published his "*Meraviglie dell' arte*" in the year 1646. He had in all probability no knowledge of the manuscript of the Anonymus, but he likewise mentions the "Sleeping Venus" as a work of Giorgione, and also as being still in the house of Marcello: "*Una deliziosa Venere ignuda dormiente è in casa Marcella, ed a piedi è Cupido con augellino in mano che fù terminato da Tiziano;*" that is, a delicious undraped sleeping Venus is in the house Marcello, and has at her feet a Cupid with a little bird in his hand, who (Cupid) was completed by Titian (vol. i., p. 130). Such, then, was still the tradition in the house Marcello. Well, this picture, as Herr Hübner tells us in his catalogue, came to Dresden under the name of Titian,¹ and "at the feet of Venus sat a Cupid, who

¹ It appears that about the beginning of the 18th century the proprietor of this painting at Venice changed its name by giving it to Titian—an artist-name which was then far better known and valued than that of the long-forgotten Giorgione. The principal reason of this rebaptism may be sought in the circumstance that the celebrated Venus of Titian (No. 1117 in the Tribune of the Uffizi), having come to Florence with the Duchess Vittoria della Rovere of Urbino, and being thus open to the admiration of connoisseurs, was generally found almost identical with our Venus by Giorgione. And in truth this nude female figure reposing on a couch, by Titian, is nothing but a copy of our Dresden Venus, only modified in the upper part of the body. The features of this so-called Venus at Florence are, it is well known, identical with those of young Eleonora Gonzago (wife of the Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere), whose portrait by Titian, as *Bella di Tiziano*, we see at the Pitti Palace, No. 18; in the portrait painted from life her individuality is more marked than in the Venus-picture. Is it not very probable that the Duke, who doubtless knew the celebrated Venus in the house Marcello, commissioned his friend Titian to copy it for him, and to put the countenance of his adored Eleonora in

was so much injured, that what remained of him was entirely removed; restored by Schirmer." After restoration,¹ the picture was christened "a probable copy" (!!) and, what is more, by Sassoferrato (!) And as such it is regarded, to my great surprise, even by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ("Vita di Tiziano," vol. i.), who take credit to themselves for having discovered the original of this Dresden Venus in a picture at the Darmstadt Gallery (No. 520), there ascribed to Titian. To my eyes, this Darmstadt Venus is nothing but a free, and more than free, copy of Giorgione's Venus at Dresden, and that by some feeble German artist of the 18th century.² Let true lovers of Italian art decide between these two antagonistic judgments! My words are not at all addressed to those who take pleasure in the *copies* after Holbein (No. 1885), Correggio (No. 170), Lionardo da Vinci (No. 39), Titian (No. 251), and Moretto (No. 279), and who are wont to gaze at and admire them as originals; may they quietly continue to solace themselves with sham art, provided they leave me undisturbed to my admiration of this Venus of Giorgione.

the place of the sleeping Venus-head of Giorgione? In this simple way the riddle would be solved.

¹ The three trees in the middle-ground are very clumsily repainted. The bright streak of light on the houses is quite Giorgionesque, just as we see it in that picture of "The Storm with the Gipsy Woman and the Soldier" at Prince Giovanelli's. The wonderfully beautiful body of the Venus is covered with a dirty yellowish crust. The red-brown cloth with the gold border, against which stands out the finely modelled arm of Venus, is thoroughly Giorgionesque; so are the pinched pleats of the white cloth, and the shape of the thumb, so very different in Giorgione from what it is in Titian. And then that glorious oval of the face! It is the same that we see in the Madonna of Castelfranco and in the Madonna at the Madrid Museum.

² Another copy of equal merit is at Dudley House, London.

In the adjoining room hangs the celebrated Madonna of *Moretto da Brescia*, No. 279, so highly praised by Rio and Passavant.¹ "The Holy Virgin," says Herr Hübner, "as she appeared to a shepherd boy, Filippo Viotti, of Monte Caitone, in the province of Brescia, to turn away the pestilence in 1523. A modified replica of the altar-piece at *Paitone*." In the dark background at the top left-hand corner we read: "Imago Beatæ Mariæ Virg. quæ mens. August. 1533" (not 1523) "Caitoni (*sic*), agri Brixani Pago, apparuit Miraculor. operatione concursi pop. celeberrim."

"C'est la Madone miraculeuse qu'il peignit (*i.e.* Moretto) en 1533 pour satisfaire la devotion de ses compatriotes et la sienne, etc.," says the amiable Neo-catholic art-critic, A. F. Rio, in his little book, "Léonard de Vinci et son école," (p. 312), and continues: "Pour comble de bonheur, c'était sur une bannière que devait être peinte l'image vénérée, avec le double caractère de Reine des anges et de mère de miséricorde. C'était un problème analogue à celui que Raphael avait à résoudre en peignant la Madone de S. Sixte (!); et les âmes pieuses, qui ont aussi leur compétence (?), bien différente de celle des connoisseurs" (so it seems), "peuvent comparer, au point de vue de l'inspiration, ces deux chefs-d'œuvre que le hasard a réunis dans la même ville. La vierge de Moretto est à Dresde, et fait partie de la collection de M. Quandt, excellent appréciateur des trésors d'art qu'il possède." From the collection of the late Herr von Quandt this "chef-d'œuvre" came to the Dresden Gallery. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also speak of this Madonna of Caitone as a work of Moretto's in their list of the works of Alessandro Bonvicino, and at the same time quote the inscription (vol. ii., 416-7).

¹ Passavant's "Raphael Sanzio," French transl., vol. ii., p. 316.

In presence of such a marvellous consensus of famous critics on the merits of this supposed painting by Moretto, I must either believe that I have parted with my senses, or else that Mons. Rio's "Vierge Miraculeuse," "celebrima operatione miraculorum," as the inscription says, is still in the habit of working wonders. But, joking apart, I admit that a clever copy may often deceive the ablest connoisseurs and experts; but I should not have thought it possible that so stupid, insipid, and heavy a copy as the picture before us could impose upon men whose whole life has been devoted to the study of ancient art, and who have passed their opinion on hundreds and hundreds of works by old masters. Poor, unfortunate Moretto, what conception can the public that visits the Dresden Gallery have formed of thy art from this Madonna of Caitone! While thy paintings have the power to chain every heart by the exquisite harmony of their brilliant colours, by nobleness of form, and elegance of movement, here at Dresden, the rendezvous of all the connoisseurs in the world, thou art condemned to stand in the pillory, under the clumsy signboard of a silly, bloodless, boneless, hysterical-looking Nun!¹ No, in the name of

¹ Before this wretched copy, dating from the last century, it is hardly necessary to draw the connoisseur's attention to the flabby boneless hands, to the dull, stupid expression of the Madonna, to the staring red brick colour of the ground, &c. In the original painting this female figure, though by no means one of Moretto's most successful ones, yet makes a deeply poetical impression by the fine silvery tone of its long white garment. But where are we to look for that silver sheen in the garment of this "Madonna of Caitone"? Probably at *Paitone*, on that bare hill with its little church, some quarter of an hour's walk from the village below. There, in the original picture, there was some meaning in representing Mary on earth in the habit of a nun, for there she is talking to the boy before her, who has come to pick blackberries on the hill, and is telling him to go down to the village, and exhort the people

this noble Brescian, and with all the warmth of a wounded heart, I protest against this unworthy plagiarism. I have nothing to say against this insipid female figure representing the Madonna of "Caitone," but I beg Herr Hübner to take my advice, and not confound her any more with Moretto's Madonna of *Paitone*.

Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto, has not fared so well at the Dresden Gallery as his great contemporary TITIAN. Hübner's catalogue ascribes to him no less than nine authentic works. Let us inspect them at once.

The earliest work among these is, no doubt, the celebrated "Tribute-penny" (No. 248), signed "Ticianus." (Nearly all the early works of the master—till about 1522—1524—are signed Ticianus, not Titianus.) Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle place this painting in the year 1508 ("Vita di Tiziano," &c.), Vasari in 1514.¹ I do not know any other picture of Titian's that is executed with so much care and love as this noble and profoundly conceived head of Christ.² It is painted on the Van Eyck method,

to build a little church to the Madonna on that hill, if they wished to deliver the parish from the plague. But here in the copy what can this dreamy-looking woman have to say? No rational being would have the least inkling of this scrofulous nun being the Mother of God. At the parish church of Auro, a little village in the Val Sabbia, in the Brescia mountains, I have seen an older copy of the real Madonna of Paitone, and I need hardly say that there the peasant-boy with his little basket of blackberries is not left out.

¹ Others maintain that the "Tribute-penny" must have been painted between the years 1516 and 1522, as Titian did not come to Ferrara till 1516. This would make the "Tribute-penny" take birth several years *after* the "Assunta," which I can hardly bring myself to believe, the type of the Christ in this picture being the same as in Titian's "Christ bearing the Cross" at the Church of S. Rocco (certainly a very early work of the master).

² Prof. Thausing in his work on Dürer, p. 355 (English translation), maintains that the Venetian in this his most impressive picture was in-

as may still be seen at one spot on the neck of the Christ, where the glazing has come off. It is asserted that the "Tribute-penny" was painted for Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, a matter which I am content to leave alone. This much seems certain, that the picture was only bought by Alphonso IV. or Francis I. of Este, and in that way came first into the Gallery of Modena, and thence to Dresden among the "hundred pictures."

Another splendid painting from the early time of the master is the panel No. 249, representing the Virgin and Child surrounded by the Saints, John the Baptist, Jerome, Paul, and Magdalen. In spite of much restoration a marvel of glowing colour still! I would place this youthful and brilliant picture of Titian's in the same period when he painted his celebrated "Assunta" for the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari (now in the Academy of Venice), that is to say, between 1514—1520.¹

spired by the German artist Dürer, and that the "Tribute-penny" is therefore "of German origin." I confess that this remark of my excellent friend looks to me little better than a patriotic illusion. Nor would the great Dürer suffer any detriment by letting the Cadorian have the full credit of this "Christ." I do not mean to deny that in Art also there are intellectual and moral "analogies," as the Germans call them, and that these have their importance; I only think that these "analogies" have been pushed too far of late, and made a regular system of.

¹ If I rightly understand Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, they do not think this picture to be by Titian, but ascribe it to Andrea Schiavone in their "Vita di Tiziano," ii., 477-8. By æsthetic and technical proofs you can decide nothing as to the authorship of a work of art. "As the fool thinks, so the bell clinks." Therefore, to support my own theory, I will draw the attention of my young friends to a purely material sign, but one very characteristic of Titian. A peculiarity which I have observed in more than fifty authentic works of his is, that the base of the thumb in his men's hands is abnormally developed, somewhat as I reproduce it here.



The third picture by Titian (No. 250) mentioned in the catalogue represents the Holy Family, with the family of the Donor, a father, mother, and son, adoring the Infant Christ. Much restored, but genuine; and of the mature period of the master. Then follows in the catalogue the Venus reposing on a couch, crowned by Cupid, and admired by a young man playing the lute (No. 251). Guarienti had already set it down as a copy, and so do Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The original painting in the Museum of Madrid is a Venetian Mieris, Metz, or Terborch, of the 16th century. So the ideal of Art in Europe kept coming down, from the Venus of Giorgione and Botticelli, to similar Titianic Venuses, from these again to those of Mieris and Metz, till finally it reached the ideal of an Adriaen van der Werff. It was thought for some time that this Venus was the portrait of a princess of Eboli; and the man with the lute Philip II. The young man is probably nothing but a Venetian *nobile* beside his beloved "cortigiana."

The hand of the Baptist has it in this picture; in the "Assunta" the hand of the Apostle with the red garment, in the "Tribute-penny" the hand of the Pharisee, &c., &c. Just such a defect as a pupil or copyist would take care to avoid. It is true the painting has suffered serious injury; the Baptist is repainted altogether, the right arm of the Infant Christ is much damaged, and the colouring round Mary's mouth partly rubbed off, so that one can see the grey tempera-ground underneath. The St. Paul, too, is daubed over. Happily, however, the charming figure of St. Magdalen is still tolerably preserved, as though her captivating beauty had shielded her from the barbarian's rage of restoration. Her left hand says more than anything else, to one who knows Titian: I am the legitimate daughter of the Cadorian. But the sky is spoilt. The red colours used by the master in this painting are about the same as those we find in the "Assunta" at Venice. Despite the ravages wrought upon it, this beautiful painting still wields even through its mask an indescribable charm over every susceptible mind.

The portrait of a young lady in a reddish dress (No. 252), holding a vase in her hands, has been so cleaned and washed away, and disfigured, that in its present state it looks like nothing on earth. Better preserved and finely conceived is the portrait of a noble lady in mourning (No. 253).

The male portrait (No. 254) belongs to Titian's latest years. On a window-ledge behind the man we see a box of colours. Of the year 1561; so that Titian was about eighty-four when he painted this portrait. Let us now turn to the interesting likeness of a young lady dressed in white, with fair hair, holding a fan in her hand (No. 255). We see the very same face in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna, translated into Flemish by the master hand of Rubens. Besides this copy by Rubens, we meet the same personage again in another celebrated painting of Titian's at the Belvedere. This is the maiden of about fourteen, dressed in white, and leading a boy by the hand, in Titian's "Ecce Homo," or "Christ shown to the people by Pilate," exhibited in the second room. This latter picture was executed in 1543 for Titian's patron, the rich Flemish merchant, D'Anna (Van Haanen), who lived at Venice. Now in our Dresden picture the same young lady, only some eleven or twelve years older, has a little flag in her hand, a sort of fan carried only by newly-married brides.¹ Lavinia—for the portrait is that of Titian's daughter—was married to Cornelio Sarcinelli, of Serra-

¹ Some writers have called this young woman Titian's mistress, without stopping to consider that in 1555, when the master painted this portrait, he was seventy-eight, an age not the most suitable for winning the heart of a beautiful young woman. The Marchese Campori of Modena is of opinion that Titian made a present of this portrait to his patron, Alphonso II. of Ferrara.

valle, in the year 1555.¹ It was therefore in or about that year, and not, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suppose, in 1546, that this beautiful painting was executed.

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their celebrated work, "Titian, his Life and Times" 1878 (ii., 208, Italian edition), have inserted the Marriage Contract, the original of which, they say, is still in the possession of the heirs of Doctor Pietro Carnieluti at Serravalle. Considering that this document, as they give it, may appear totally unintelligible to many readers, I think it advisable to quote the Contract from the manuscript in the Trivulzio Library at Milan, which seems to be the original.

" 1555, A di 20 marzo in Serravalle.

" Al nome sia di lo Eterno Iddio et de la Gloriosa Vergine Maria et di tutta la Corte celestial et in buona ventura.

" El se dichiara come in questo giorno si ha trattato (*not si fa fratello, which has no meaning*) et concluso matrimonio fra il spscripto Cornelio, fiolo del qdam (*not ge*) Messer Marco Sarcinello, cittadino cinitense (*of Ceneda*), habitante in Serravalle, da una parte et la discreta Madonna (*not discripta Madama*) Lavinia, fiola del spscripto M. Titiano Vicellio pittore de Cadore, habitante in Venetia, dall' altra, si come comanda Iddio et la S. Madre Giesia (Chiesa).

" Per parolle di presente fatte (*not et ptti*) et conto di dotte il spettabile Messer Titiano sopraditto li promette et si obbliga a dare al prefato M. Cornelio duc. (ducato) 1,400 a lire 6 e soldi 4 per ducato (*not due 7 mille e quattrocento al 604 et due 7, which would also have no sense*) in questa forma, videlicet al dare della man (*that is, all' atto dello impalmare*) ducati 600 (*not 23 al dar della man due 7 seicento al 604 p. due 7*) a Lire 6 e soldi 4 per duc. (ducato), et il restante, detratto il valore et lo ammontar de li beni mobili p. uso de la ditta sposa, li promette a dar in tanti contanti per tutto l'anno 1556, quali siano in tutto per lo ammontar et summa de li predetti ducati 1,400 ut supra. (*Here also Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle read due instead of duc., that is, ducati, making the dowry come to 2,400 ducati, or 1,000 ducati more than the Trivulzio MS. does*). La qual dotte il pfatto M. Cornelio con Madonna Calliopia sua madre simul et in solidum togliono et accettano sopra tutti li beni pti et futi (presenti e futuri) li quali obbligano in ogni caso et evento di restituir et assicurar la ditta dotte.

" Et così il pfato M. Titiano, a manutention de la sopraditta dotte promette et obbliga tutti li suoi beni pti et futi usque ad integram satisfactionem (*sic*) et così l'una et l'altra parte di sua mano si sottoscrivono

We see the same Lavinia again painted by her father, but now from fifteen to eighteen years older, in the portrait (No. 257) of this same gallery.

Here, Titian must have painted the Dame Sarcinelli—who seems about forty, and has lost her good looks—somewhere about 1470—72, when he was ninety-four years old. The feather fan was only borne by the nobility at Venice, and, in fact, Lavinia had the right to regard herself as noble, being the daughter of an artist whom the Emperor Charles V. had—shall I say elevated or lowered?—into a count. Not that I wish to undervalue the dignity of a count; on the contrary, I honour and value counts and barons, if

(*not sottoscriveranno*) p̃. caution delle soprascripte cosse così promettendo esse parti p. se et suoi eredi mantenir et osservar ut supra continetur.

“ Et Jo Juanne Alessandrino de Cadore pregado dalle parti testo.

“ Jo Titian Vecellio sono (*not sarò*) contento e affermo et approbo quanto se contiene nell’ oltrascripto contratto.

“ Jo Cornelio Sarcinello son contento et affermo et approbo quanto se contien nell’ oltrascripto contratto.

“ 1555 a dì 19 Zugno in Venetia.

“ Jo Cornelio Sarcinello soprascritto dal Sor Titian soprascrito, mio socero, schudi 500 et 55 d’oro, a L. 6 et 4 soldi l’uno (*not a L. 604 l’uno*), e questi ho riceputo per parte et a bonconto de dote promessami ut supra.

“ 1556 a dì 13 Settembris in Venetia.

“ R. Jo Cornelio Sarcinello soprascritto dal Sor Titiano soprascritto, mio suocero, duc. 322, et questo per robe stimade fra nui da M. Francesco Sartor et d’accordo da una parte et l’altra.

“ Item per cadene, ori et fatura scudi No. 88 come appare per la polizza de Balini zojelier.

“ a dì 23 Lujo 1557.

“ Noto faccio io Cornelio Sarcinello qualmente mi chiamo satisfato de tuta la summa de la dotta promessa a mi Cornelio per il Sor Titiano Vecellio, mio suocer, parte per danari et parte per perle et altre robe haute et zoje et così come appar p. li nostri conti, et in fede di ciò iò ho scritto di mia man propria.” (*This last receipt is not quoted by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle.*)

only because we are sure to find more decent cultivated people among them than in the crowd of our plutocrats or even democrats. I only mean to say, that to so great an artist as Titian, it must have been rather a humiliation to be measured by the same rule with which His Imperial Majesty was in the habit of gauging the herd of title-hunters. In the political and official world, of course, a prince is worth more than a count, a count than a baron; but in the world of art Count Vecellio is but a rag to Painter Titian.

Germany then can boast of possessing four likenesses of Titian's beloved daughter painted by himself: first, as a girl of fifteen, in that celebrated "*Ecce Homo*," at the Belvedere; the two above-mentioned in the Dresden Gallery; and, lastly, the idealized one at the Berlin Gallery, which it seems the master painted for his friend, Argentina Pallavicino of Reggio, in 1549 (Gaye, ii., 375).

I have yet to mention the portrait of a Venetian Lady (No. 231). This young lady holds in her right hand a fur with a martin's head. Herr Hübner has strong doubts about the genuineness of this Titian. It has, indeed, suffered much, the glazing being nearly all gone; but I do believe it to have been originally a work of Titian's.

Of Titian's imitators, POLIDORO VENEZIANO, is well represented at Dresden, better indeed than in any other gallery. The two pictures assigned to him in the catalogue (Nos. 290 and 291) are not only genuine, but very characteristic of Polidoro, whose works are generally ascribed to other masters. The first represents a Venetian nobleman consecrating his child to the Madonna by handing it over to St. Joseph; on the right stands Magdalen, to whom the child is offering a wreath; a guardian angel in the background.

The second picture is the "Betrothal of St. Catherine of Siena to the Infant Christ in the presence of St. Andrew."

Amongst imitators of Titian is to be classed the third Bonifazio, or BONIFAZIO VENEZIANO, who in his latter years, *i.e.* after 1570, forsook the manner of his kinsmen and teachers, Bonifazio I. and II., and apparently took Titian for his model. The picture (No. 287), Mary in the presence of St. Antony and St. Joseph, with the Infant Christ turning towards St. Catherine, appears to me to be a work in the latest manner of this Bonifazio Veneziano. Weak, and spoilt by cleaning.

By the celebrated Bergamese portrait-painter GIOVAN BATTISTA MORONI (not Morone, as Herr Hübner calls him), we find (No. 292) the portrait of a young man with his right hand resting on his hip, of the year 1557, the best period of the master. This portrait, though cleverly painted, is commonplace in conception, and does not show us Moroni at his best.

Another Bergamese, ANDREA PREVITALI, is better represented in this gallery. His picture, No. 239, is among the later acquisitions, and represents the Virgin and Child with the little St. John. It is signed A(ndr)eas (Bergo)-mensis, 1510; therefore painted before the master left Venice, which he must have done towards the end of that year, to return to his native place Bergamo. All his works from 1511¹ to 1525 are signed Andreas Previtalus, a proof

¹ I think Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*i.*, 279) are wrong in making Previtali not settle at Bergamo till 1515. Some years ago, in the house Terzi at Bergamo, I saw a Madonna signed "Andreas Previtalus, 1511," a proof that in that year he was at Bergamo; had he painted it at Venice, he would have signed it "Andreas Bergomensis." In the Church "del Conventino," near Bergamo, we read under the St. Constantine: "Andreas Privitalus, 1512." The "Cristo trasfigurato," a picture that came to the Brera Gallery from the Church delle Grazie

that during these fourteen years he resided in his native-place. Count Tassi ("Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, etc., Bergamaschi") asserts that Previtali died about 1528, but without giving any proof of the assertion. The last signed work of this master has the date 1525, and adorns the fifth altar to the right in the Church of S. Spirito at Bergamo. It is a polyptych in two parts; in the first or lower part we see Mary in the centre with the naked Infant Christ, on the

at Bergamo, is signed: "Andreas Previtalus, 1513." It never was in the Church of San Benedetto, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle state; even in the time of the Anonymus of Morelli (p. 52) it was already at the "Chiesa delle Grazie." Finally, under the small picture of the "Crucified" in the sacristy of S. Alessandro della Croce, at Bergamo, we read the name Andreas Previtalus, and the year 1514.

Again, the historians of Italian art, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, affirm that Previtali's pictures have sometimes a Lombard look (i., 279). Wherein this Lombard physiognomy lies, I cannot at all conceive. They say, moreover, that Previtali adopted in many of his works the manner of Basaiti and V. Catena; an opinion which certainly has some foundation in the mouth of those who, like them, ascribe works of Catena's to Previtali. Thus, to mention a couple of instances, they take the pretty little picture in Prince Giovanelli's gallery for a work of Previtali's; likewise the "Circumcision" in the Manfrin Gallery at Venice. The first painting represents Mary between saints, and bears the false inscription, "Joannes Bellinus." The Holy Virgin is a copy of the Mary in Giambellino's picture of the year 1507 in the Church of S. Francesco della Vigna at Venice. Both these pictures have nothing to do with Previtali, but may well be regarded as works by Catena, of about the same period when he painted his Santa Maria Mater Domini. At other times these historians confound Previtali with Cariani, as in the half-moon fresco over the side door of Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo. Then, again, they ascribe paintings by Previtali to Pellegrino of San Daniele, *e.g.*, in the Ducal Palace at Venice, where they ascribe the "Christ in Limbus" (there assigned to Giorgione!) to Pellegrino. In short, they make of this dry, honest, and monotonous Bergamese a sort of chameleon, who presents himself to the public, now in the garb of Cariani, then in that of Catena, one day as Pellegrino da San Daniele, the next as L. Lotto.

right the Saints Monica and Lucia, on the left Catherine and Ursula, before which last are three virgins kneeling; under the Mary we read: "Andreas Previtalus, 1525." In the second or upper part is the Saviour, standing in the middle with a red flag in his left hand; on both sides of him are John the Baptist and the apostles Bartholomew, Peter, and James. This upper part is not executed by the hand of Previtali, but by a grotesque Bergamese painter, AGOSTINO DA CAVERSEGNO, a pupil and imitator of Lorenzo Lotto. The pestilence of 1524-5 carried off many people in Bergamo; and my conjecture that our Previtali likewise fell a victim to it, and that the lower part of the polyptych may be regarded as his last work, is not altogether groundless. It is very possible that Tassi, who makes Previtali live till 1528, may in some written document have taken the number 5 for an 8. I think it likely, that by the sudden death of Previtali in 1525, the polyptych was left unfinished, and that it was afterwards completed by Agostino da Caversegno.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle speak of a monogram (i., 279) which, they say, is to be found on some of Previtali's paintings; no such thing is known to me. Neither has it been given to me to detect the influence of Palma Vecchio in any one of his works. In his earlier paintings, from the year 1502 (at Count Cavalli's, Padua), till 1515, (the large altar-piece in the Church of S. Spirito at Bergamo, representing the Baptist on a pedestal, between four saints), Previtali appears always as a faithful, conscientious, and industrious pupil and imitator of Giovanni Bellini, somewhat heavy and lifeless in conception and representation, but splendid in colouring and charming in his landscapes.

When Lorenzo Lotto settled at Bergamo in the year

1515, to execute his great altar-piece for the Church of the Dominicans (now placed in the Church of S. Bartolommeo), Previtali in several of his productions of those years set himself to imitate Lotto; and so well did he succeed, that many of his pictures are ascribed to Lotto even by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle),¹ notwithstanding that the artistic nature of the poetical tremulous Trevisan is so radically distinct from the somewhat Philistine humour of the Bergamese!

The Anonymus of Morelli did not find a single work of Previtali's in the collections of amateurs at Venice, while he mentions several by Palma Vecchio and Giovanni Cariani—a proof that Previtali's merits were not recognised till later. Pater Lanzi, however, probably led by the commendations and exaggerated praises of Count Tassi, has, in his "History of Art," greatly overrated this master by putting him almost on a level with Palma Vecchio. As regards technique, Previtali is certainly very eminent, in brilliance of colouring he is not behind any of Giambellino's pupils, and the landscapes in the background of his pictures are for the most part neatly and faultlessly executed; but for all that, the good painter lacks the main attributes of a great artist, invention and the power of original representation. And then Previtali had no influence whatever on the development of Venetian art, and hardly any even on the local school of Bergamo. In galleries on the other side of the Apen-

¹ Thus, amongst others, the three small tondos in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Bergamo, which once formed the predella of Previtali's large altar-piece of the year 1524, in the first chapel to the right, in the same church (ii., 524, note 1); also the two pictures on canvas, representing the "Nativity" and the "Crucifixion," in the second sacristy of the Chiesa del Redentore at Venice (ii., 531).

nines one would look in vain for works by Andrea Previtali.

By far the most renowned of all the Bergamese, and deservedly so, is JACOPO PALMA, called "il vecchio," to distinguish him from his grand-nephew Jacopo Palma, "il giovine." On the position this excellent painter is entitled to hold in the history of Venetian art, I have already expressed my opinion in speaking of the Munich Gallery. I have now, therefore, only to mention such of his paintings as are exhibited in these rooms. The Dresden Gallery does not contain one specimen of his first, rather colourless manner,¹ but it has some capital works in his second, and in his third or "blonde" manner.

The so-called "Three Sisters" (?) (No. 268) is a work of world-wide renown, but unfortunately restored well nigh past enjoying. The sister on the right has suffered most, her eyes, mouth, and nose being quite disfigured, and her expression rendered untrue. In 1525, Morelli's Anonymus saw it in the house of M. Taddeo Contarini at Venice, and entered it in his note-book in the following words

¹ Amongst the works of this *first* manner of Palma Vecchio, I count the "Adulteress" in the Campidoglio Gallery at Rome (there ascribed to Titian); "Adam and Eve," No. 225 of the Brunswick Gallery, there given to Giorgione; the "Roman Lucretia" of the Borghese Gallery at Rome (No. 5, Room XI.). The first two of these pictures must have been painted before 1512, for in that year Morelli's Anonymus saw them in the house of Messer Francesco Zio at Venice (p. 70). To his *second* and powerful manner, in which his best works are painted, I assign amongst others the so-called "Bella di Tiziano" in the house Sciarra-Colonna, the fine Madonna in the Gallery Colonna (agli apostoli), both at Rome; the magnificent altar-piece in the Church of San Stefano at Vicenza, the St. Barbara in Santa Maria Formosa at Venice, &c. To the *third* or "fair" manner belong the "Jacob and Rachel" in this gallery, the "Judith," No. 619 of the Uffizi at Florence, the "Adoration of the Three Kings" in the Brera at Milan, &c.

(p. 65): "El quadro delle tre donne, retratte dal naturale insino al cinto, fù de man del Palma" (picture of the three ladies, painted from life, half-length, the work of Palma). Another and very exquisite picture of the same period is No. 270; it represents Mary with the Child; before her John the Baptist; each holds a written scroll; between them St. Catherine.

On the verge of the third or "blonde" manner seems to be the "Venus" (No. 269). The same young woman that sat as model for the so-called "Bella di Tiziano" (Sciarra-Colonna) has probably been present to Palma's mind in depicting his so-called "Venus." This "goddess of love," in Palma's picture, is really nothing more than a naked woman well painted. To the third, the so-called "fair" manner of the master, of about the year 1520—1525, belongs the painting, No. 267. It represents the Infant Christ sitting in Mary's lap, and caressing St. John; near them are Joseph and St. Catherine.

The four pictures just named are undoubtedly genuine works of Palma Vecchio; if we may also reckon as such the exquisite idyl of "Jacob and Rachel" (No. 240), the Dresden Gallery possesses *five* works of this great master, so full of pith and power. No collection of pictures in the world, except the Belvedere at Vienna, can vie, in this respect, with the Dresden Gallery.

Hübner's catalogue reckons two more paintings under the name of Palma, but I think erroneously. No. 266 represents a lady resting her right hand on a looking-glass, behind her stands a man. This unimportant picture can only belong to one of the numerous imitators of Palma. The other picture (No. 271) represents Mary with the Child, near her Elizabeth and the little St. John with a scroll on which are the words, "ecce agnus Dei," in front

St. Catherine and Joseph. In my opinion, the painting belongs to the *second* BONIFAZIO, the same master to whom we ascribed the "Adoration of the Kings" (No. 242, under Giorgione's name, in the catalogue). I take the opportunity in passing to impart to my young friends some information about the artist-family of the Bonifazios.

The first writer that mentions a painter Bonifacio is the Anonymus of Morelli (p. 62): "In casa de M. Andrea di Odoni (at Venice, in the year 1532), la 'Transfigurazione de S. Paulo' fù de man de Bonifacio *Veronese*." In the year 1556 appeared the work of Francesco Sansovino, "Dialogo di tutte le cose notabili che sono in Venezia," &c., in which there is also mention of a painter, Bonifacio *da Verona*; and Anselmo Guisconi, in his "Dialogo," published the same year, 1556, and entitled "Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venezia," enumerates among the greatest painters of the century, Bonifacio *da Verona*, Giambellino, Giorgione, Pordenone, Tiziano, Paris, Tintoretto and Paolo Caliari. Even the Milanese P. Lomazzo speaks only of a Bonifacio *Veronese*.¹ On the other hand, Vasari,² and after him Ridolfi, Boschini, and Zanetti, know only of a Bonifacio *Veneziano*.

Thus to all the above-named writers there was known but *one* painter of this name, though some made him a native of Verona, others of Venice. In 1815, Moschini, in his "Guida di Venezia," made the right observation, that there must have been *two* painters Bonifacio, one of whom died 19th October, 1553, according to the necrologue of the Church of St. Ermagora, while the other is represented in works which are dated 1558 and even 1579.

¹ "Trattato dell' arte della Pittura et Architettura," 1584, p. 684.

² Ediz. Le Monnier, vol. 13, p. 109.

Lastly, the late Dr. Cesare Bernasconi of Verona¹ found, in the archives of the Church of Saints Siro e Libera of Verona, a register of the brotherhood called *Il Collegio*, which stated that the painter Bonifacio, admitted into that brotherhood in 1523, died as early as the year 1540. We may conclude from this, that there were *three* painters of that name, one of whom died in 1540, another in 1553, whilst a third was still painting in 1579.

In the numerous works of these three Bonifazios there runs a certain family likeness, as there does in the paintings of the contemporary artist-family, Da Ponte, called Bassano, and it is not easy to distinguish them from each other. One of the two elder Bonifacios, however, is, in my opinion, not only one of the most prominent artists of the Venetian School, but may even be designated the most brilliant colourist of them all. As an artist, indeed, his bright conception and the light gracefulness of his figures seem to me never to belie his narrower home, Verona; yet, as a technician, he is an out-and-out Venetian, and, in this respect, betrays no sign of any connection with the Veronese. While the chords of his colouring are neither so delicate and startling as in Giorgione, nor so profound and powerful as in Palma and Titian, nor so ingenious as in Lotto, yet they wield a peculiar charm over the eye of the spectator by their bright, cheerful, and harmonious lustre.

The Second Bonifazio, a faithful imitator of the above-named, entered so deeply, both into the mode of painting, and even the mode of thought, of the First (perhaps his brother, or some other kinsman), that it is almost impossible to tell the work of the one from that of the other,

¹ "Studj sopra la Storia della Pittura Italiana," &c., 1864, p. 388-9.

especially in some pictures, at which I am convinced they worked together. There seem to me to be several such joint-productions of the two elder Bonifazios. The story of their lives may have been something like the following :—

The two elder Bonifazios were born at Verona, probably in the last decade of the 15th century, and they came very early as pupils into Palma Vecchio's studio at Venice; they were relations, possibly brothers, the one a man of shining talent, the other a mere imitator. The third and still younger Bonifazio, probably a son of one of the two elder, may have been born at Venice, and might thus have a full right to the name of Bonifazio *Veneziano*. In the year 1568, when Vasari published the second edition of his work, this latter Bonifazio alone was alive and working, and Vasari's Venetian informant might not be wrong in speaking of the surviving Bonifacio (the only one he seems to have known), as a Venetian; we must, however, reproach him with having taken no notice of the two other and more important painters of the name.

On this theory of mine there must have been, not only two painters called Bonifazio, *Veronese* by birth, but also one, if not two, born at Venice, and rightly regarded as *Venetians*.

Yet almost all the historians until now have recognised only one painter Bonifazio, to whom they attribute all those pictures which, however unequal in merit, betray some family-likeness. Then, to add their mite to the mass of confusion, the compilers of numerous gallery catalogues, especially in Italy, confound the so-called Bonifazio *Veneziano* with a Bonifazio or *Facio Bembo*, court painter to the first Francis Sforza, an artist who flourished in the beginning of the second half of the 15th century. They

called him, and they still call him, as even Herr Hübner does, "Bonifazio Bembi."

Facio Bembo, also called Facio di Valdarno, who painted for the Sforzas at Cremona, (Church of St. Augustin), at Milan, in the Castello of Pavia, and elsewhere, had certainly neither an artistic nor a blood-relationship to the Bonifazios from Verona. There was, moreover, a *Benedetto Bembo* of the school of Squarcione, by whom there is a signed picture in the Castle of Torchiara (in the Parmese). I therefore advise Herr Hübner, in the next edition of his catalogue, to omit the family-name of "Bembi." Now this artist-family of the Bonifazios, from whose studio came forth not only Antonio Palma, the father of the younger Palma, but I think also Polidoro Lanzani, called Pol. Veneziano, were at work from the beginning of the third decade till towards the end of the 16th century, and that almost exclusively at Venice. The better to distinguish the three painters Bonifazio, by whom signed works have come down to us covering the years 1530—1580, let us call the most important of them Bonifazio (Veronese) *Senior*, the second Bonifazio (Veronese) *Junior*, and the third Bonifazio *Veneziano*. Ridolfi ("Vite dei Pittori Veneti," i., 396) already calls Bonifazio Veronese *Senior* a pupil of Palma Vecchio, and he is right. Louder than any written documents his works proclaim it, the earlier ones being very generally ascribed to Palma; for instance, the magnificent painting at Signor Enrico Andreossi's (2, Via Clerici, Milan). This exquisite painting, rich in colours, represents Mary seated with the Infant Jesus and St. John, on her right St. Jerome and the Apostle James, on the left St. Catherine; landscape and architecture in the background. In the house Terzi at Bergamo, where the picture formerly was, it passed for a work of Palma

Vecchio, and is described as such by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii., 473), who even consider it one of the masterpieces of the Bergamese. Of this picture the Academy of Venice possesses (No. 363) a school-copy, under the false name of Andrea Schiavoni. A still earlier picture of the same Bonifazio hangs in the gallery of the Ambrosiana at Milan, under the name of Giorgione. It shows in the centre the Holy Virgin presenting a fruit to the Infant Jesus in the arms of Joseph; below the Madonna the infant St. John, at her left the archangel with the infant Tobit; landscape in the background. There is much in this charming picture that still recalls the master Palma—the St. Joseph for instance, the profile of the archangel, the landscape; but the type of the Madonna's head is already the same as in the later picture at Signor Andreossi's, the shapes of the ear and hand altogether those of Bonifazio Senior. In this picture, too, we already come upon the dark red velvet so peculiar to the master, a material which he introduces into almost all his paintings. This is the earliest work of Bonifazio Senior known to me. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, by the bye, are of a different opinion; they say (ii., 160): "this picture is by a modern who studied many of his predecessors. The St. Joseph is in the fashion of Pordenone, the Madonna has the round fulness of Palma Vecchio. But the painter, probably Calderara, is a coarse imitator."¹ Another genuine, but much damaged work of his, representing "Diana and Actæon," is at Hampton Court (No. 73), where it is also ascribed to Giorgione. Another early picture of this Bonifazio is

¹ I dare say this Giovan Maria Zaffoni, called Calderari, is known to very few of my readers even by name, nor does he deserve to be.

in the Gallery Colonna (agli Apostoli) at Rome, there ascribed to Titian. It represents Mary, with the Infant Christ, seated in an open landscape; on the right Saints Joseph and Jerome, on the left St. Lucy and an angel. In the Palazzo Reale at Venice (in the so-called room of Napoleon I.), is likewise a good picture of this master: the Madonna enthroned, with the Infant Christ naked, and standing on her knee; on the left the infant John and St. Barbara, on the right St. Omobono offering alms to a beggar; landscape and architecture in the background. Signed "1533—9 noembre." Also in the Pitti Palace (No. 84): Mary and Child, the infant John, St. Elizabeth and the Donor; there ascribed to Palma Vecchio, but by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle designated a work of some painter of Treviso or Friuli (ii., 489). And even the Dresden Gallery seems to me to possess a picture by Bonifazio Senior. It represents the "Finding of Moses" (No. 286), a subject often chosen by the first two Bonifazios.¹ This picture, still luminous and full of colour, has unfortunately been cleaned by so merciless a hand, that it has entirely lost its glazing.² In later works it is

Whoever wishes to know this weak imitator of Bernardino Licinio da Pordenone must go to the little town of Pordenone, where there are some authentic pictures by him in the cathedral, and frescoes in the small church "della S. Trinita," near Pordenone ("Adam and Eve," "The Expulsion from Paradise," &c.).

¹ At Prince Chigi's at Rome; in the Brera Gallery (No. 363); in the Pitti Palace at Florence (No. 161), there ascribed to Giorgione. Very Palmesque works by Bonifacio Veronese are: the Madonna at the Belvedere Gallery, Venice (Room II., 8), and No. 74 in the Louvre Gallery.

² Of the three other pictures likewise ascribed to Bonifacio, No. 287, a Holy Family with Saints Catherine and Antony, appears to be only an atelier picture, and No. 264, "The Resurrection of Lazarus," repainted and disfigured, seems to belong to Bonifazio Veneziano.

often difficult, nay, sometimes impossible to distinguish the hand of Bonifazio Senior from that of Bonifazio Junior, especially in paintings which I have reason to believe were executed by both in common, *e.g.*, the "Finding of Moses" in the Brera Gallery at Milan; the "Judgment of Solomon" (No. 55); the "Adoration of the Magi" (No. 57, of the year 1533), and the "Adulteress before Christ" (No. 50) at the Academy of Venice; the "Sermon of St. Anthony of Padua" at the little Franciscan Church of Camposampiero, in the Paduan district. All these pictures are distinguished by the same brilliance of colouring. We also find in them the same type of male and female heads; so that one would hardly suspect in them the hands of two painters. But when I compare the drawings of these two Veronese Bonifazio's (I am fortunate enough to possess several), it becomes evident that one of them was a far greater master than the other. While the latter lengthens out all his forms, and is weak and wavering in his outlines, the figures of the former stand out clear and living before our eyes, the lighted and shaded parts are sharply marked off, and the forms incline rather to the full and round. To make more obvious the different shapes, say of the ear, not only in the two Veronese Bonifazio's, but in their master, Palma Vecchio, I here give in outline (1) the shape of ear characteristic of Palma, (2) that characteristic of Bonifazio Senior, and (3) that which we meet with in the paintings of Bonifazio Junior, as well as those executed jointly, as I suspect, by the two elder Bonifazios.

The following easily accessible pictures belong, I think, exclusively to *Bonifazio Junior*:—

In the Brera Gallery at Milan, the "Supper at Emmaus" (No. 211); at the Academy of Venice, "Christ-

among the Apostles" (No. 510); also "Christ enthroned, around him David and Saints Mark, Lewis, Domenic, and Anne; at the foot of the throne an angel with a lyre," signed 1530 (No. 505); at the Pitti Palace (No. 405), "Christ in the Temple;" at the Uffizi Gallery, the "Supper of Emmaus" (1037);¹ at the Borghese Gallery, "The Prodigal's Return" (Room II.); and others.

At the Dresden Gallery, too, we find several pictures by this younger Bonifazio—the already discussed "Adoration of the Shepherds" (No. 241, under the name of Giorgione); then the "Virgin and Child" (No. 271, under the name



I.



II.



III.

of Palma Vecchio), at her side, Elizabeth and the little St. John; in front St. Catherine and Joseph.

In these our studies I have repeatedly had occasion to caution my young friends against judging of the authorship of works of art by the general impression they happen to make on the spectator, or by the manner that he fancies he detects in them. I have tried to prove in several in-

¹ Much injured. There ascribed to Palma Vecchio, but assigned to Andrea Schiavone (ii., 489) by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Also the well-known "Last Supper," in S. Maria Mater Domini at Venice, ascribed to Palma, I hold to be a work of Bonifazio Junior.

stances how easy it is, even for the most practised eye, to confound the works of a master with those of his better class of pupils, and *vice versâ*, for want of some definite and unfailing criterion. In discussing the fine "Jacob and Rachel" of this gallery (No. 240), we found Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle taking Palma Vecchio for his scholar, Giovanni Busi, called Cariani; and I wish here to point out how the same celebrated historians have once and again taken pictures of another pupil of Palma, the Veronese Bonifazio, for works of the master himself. Two instances from German galleries shall suffice for the purpose. In the Gallery of Stuttgart are two pictures (Nos. 14 and 329) which are both ascribed in the catalogue to Palma Vecchio, and which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have also included in their list of Palma's works (ii., 484). The first represents the Holy Virgin in an open landscape, with the Infant Jesus and St. John, the Saints Joseph, Elizabeth, and Catherine. In spite of much repainting, it seems to me not very difficult to recognise in it the hand and manner of Bonifazio Senior. The other picture (No. 329) shows the Virgin and Child between St. Peter and John the Baptist; landscape in the background. Repainted and otherwise damaged, but still, to my thinking, recognisable as a work of Bonifazio Junior. Besides the form of ear, these two pupils of Palma also shape their hands differently from their master. With Palma Vecchio the hand is always more bony, and therefore more quattrocentist, if I may say so, than with his pupils. The Bonifazio Veronesi make the hand more bloated and spongy, the fingers more pointed than Palma Vecchio. In Cariani the hand is similar to that of the Bonifazio, only coarser and brawnier. As there often occurs in pictures by Vincenzo Catena a little white Bolognese dog

with long hair, so Bonifazio Senior not seldom introduces in his pictures a red and white spotted lapdog.

The type of the Madonna in Cariani is rustic, but more energetic and serious, less worldly than in Bonifazio Veronese, whose holy virgins and female martyrs, with their soft, sweet expression and gentle grace, often border on the sentimental. These masters also differ in the harmony of their colours: the Bergamese is pithy and powerful, but often heavy and dark; the Veronese clear, lovely and brilliant; Bonifazio's landscapes are the brightest among those of the Venetians, those in Cariani's pictures are brownish, and the lines far from beautiful.

To the third, or *Bonifazio Veneziano*, belong, amongst others, all those groups of saints, in twos and threes, of which we meet with several in the churches of Venice, and the following in the Academy, Venice:—

No. 26. "Saints Jerome and Margaret."

No. 28. "Saints Bruno and Catherine."

No. 29. "Saints Barnabas and Sylvester."¹

No. 34. "Saints Antony and Mark."

No. 510. "Saints Andrew, John, and Antony."

No. 515. Three other saints.

All these pictures are of the year 1562, and therefore belong to the early period of this master, who must have been born somewhere between the years 1525 and 1530. I know signed pictures by him of the years 1558² and

¹ This picture is dated 1562. Observe in these figures the shape of the ear, which in B. Veneziano is broader and rounder than in B. Junior, and therefore approximates to that of B. Senior.

² In the antiquary Guggenheim's house at Venice, some years ago, I saw a picture by the third Bonifazio, which still had entirely the character of the elder painters of that name. It represented the "Virgin and Child between St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Peter," the apostle's face being evidently a portrait of the donor. The picture was dated 1558.

1563, all of which still exhibit the colouring and manner of the two elder Bonifazios. In paintings of his later period—such as the good altar-piece (now at the Academy of Venice, No. 483), representing the Holy Virgin in the air, beneath her the Saints Francis, Clare, Peter, Paul, and King James of Aragon—we see plainly that he endeavoured at times to imitate his great contemporary Titian.

The atelier of this family of artists was, during the 16th century, almost as productive as that of the Bassanos; in most of the churches at Venice, as well as in nearly all public and private collections in Italy, one meets with paintings that carry on their face the stamp of the Bonifazios. Many of them pass under the name of Andrea Schiavone.

Dresden also possesses very good and characteristic works by a younger contemporary, who at one time of his life was even a rival of Titian, namely, the energetic, grand, though sometimes inconsistent *Jacopo Robusti*, called *Tintoretto* (born 1518). Except the Belvedere at Vienna, I do not know of any collection this side of the Alps that possesses such exquisite paintings by this master.

The younger *Jacopo Palma* is likewise very fairly represented here; but not one of these pictures belongs to the master's early period, in which he promised more than he afterwards performed. Of his father, *Antonio*, the nephew of Palma Vecchio, only one gallery in Germany has any well authenticated works, namely, the gallery of Stuttgart. A picture there represents the "Resurrection of Christ," with a landscape background, and is signed: "ANTONIVS PALMA P." This painting, which vividly recalls the school of the Bonifazios, proves that the intimate relations which had existed between the two Veronese Bonifazios and their master Palma Vecchio uncle of An-

tonio, were transferred to his nephew. I know only of one other signed work by this Antonio Palma; it hangs in the sacristy of the parish church of Serinalta, the native place of the Palmas, in the Bergamo mountains. It belongs to the painter's later period.

There are four works in this gallery by the showy, yet sometimes highly refined and solid¹ *Paris Bordone* of Treviso (Nos. 280, 281, 282, and 283), the last two ascribed to him doubtfully. Of the four, only No. 281 represents the master worthily: it is the "Diana," with a javelin in her hand, and two hounds; a nymph presents her with the head of a stag. No. 280 represents "Apollo and Marsyas." No. 282, "Mary worshipping the Child, who lies before her," is more in Polidoro Lanzani's manner than in Bordone's.

To a countryman of Paris Bordone, the Trevisan Rocco Marconi, a scholar of Palma Vecchio,² and afterwards of Paris, the Dresden catalogue ascribes a picture that does not belong to him: it is (No. 275) "Christ bearing the Cross." This painting seems to me the work of the little known *Francesco Prato* of *Caravaggio*, who was a pupil of *Girolamo Romanino* of Brescia. Pictures by this really very inferior painter may be seen (and they are his best) at Brescia, in the Churches of S. Francesco, S. Rocco (there ascribed to Calisto da Lodi), and S. Agata; also in several private collections of that town, but mostly exhibited under higher sounding names.

¹ I need only mention the "Fisherman with the Ring before the Doge" at the Venetian Pinacothec.

² Whoever wishes to convince himself of this, may examine the "Adulteress" in the Palazzo Reale at Venice. This early work of the master is signed "Rocchus Marchonus," and strongly recalls the manner of Palma Vecchio.

A decorative picture assigned to *Domenico Campagnola* (No. 285), entitled "Generosity," and painted in chiaroscuro, might with better reason be regarded as an atelier picture of Bonifazio. Domenico Campagnola is perhaps, of all the Venetians, the one that is oftenest confounded with Titian, especially in his drawings. Not only does this collection, as well as the Uffizi, contain several drawings of his that go under Titian's name; but even in M. Reiset's otherwise careful catalogue of the Louvre collection, we come across drawings of Campagnola's that are assigned to Tiziano Vecellio; *e.g.* that good one in pen-and-ink, "The Judgment of Paris,"¹ which unmistakably betrays the hand of Campagnola. Also the drawings (Nos. 138 and 136) in Braun's catalogue of the British Museum collection ought rather be given to Campagnola than to Titian. The first represents two men lying on the ground near a village, the other some children.

The Dresden Gallery possesses four standard works (two of them remarkably well preserved) by the bright, and though not grand, yet always dignified *Paolo Veronese*, that lovable comedian, somewhat Spanish in his love of show, but never ignoble. In no other collection in the world, not even in the Louvre nor at Venice, is Paolo Caliari so well represented as here. I remark, by the way, that the sketch for his picture (No. 327) of the Cocina family being presented to the Madonna by the allegoric figures of Faith, Hope, and Love, is in the collection of drawings at the Uffizi Gallery, at Florence, under the name of Titian.²

Herr Hübner ascribes the "Holy Family" (No. 344) to

¹ No. 432 of Braun's catalogue.

² Photographed by Philippot, No. 415.

Paolo's son, *Carletto Caliani*; it strikes me, however, that the late Guarienti was not so far wrong in detecting therein the hand of Carletto's brother *Gabriel*. It is very difficult, almost impossible, in the studio works of Paolo Veronese, to recognise exactly the various hands that have worked at them and to distinguish them from each other.

"Dunque come da *me* disegnato," writes Benedetto Caliani to his patron, Giacomo Contarini,¹ "da *Carlo* abatiato (grounded), e da *Gabriel* finito, prego lo accetti, e lo vegga come genio suo, concetto nelle nostre menti."

Herr Hübner seems to have made another mistake as to the authorship of the female portrait (No. 349). Fasolo, who painted this portrait, was a contemporary of Paolo Veronese, and often painted, *al fresco*, together with him. But this Fasolo has nothing to do with the Pavian, Bernardino Fasolo, a contemporary and imitator of B. Luini and P. F. Sacchi. *Giovan Antonio Fasolo* came from Vicenza; his epitaph in the church of S. Lorenzo runs as follows:—

JOANNIS . ANTONII . FASOLII.
 PICTORIS . EXIMII . HAEREDVVM
 Q . SVORVM . VIXIT . ANN . XLII.
 OBIIT . X . CALEN . SEPT . MDLXXII.

I must here remark, that the fine picture of *Luca Carlevaris* (No. 413), the "View of Venice, with the Landing of a Prince," would have found a more suitable place on the ground-floor beside the pictures of his pupil, *Antonio Canal*, and his grand-pupil, *B. Belotti*, than in the last room upstairs, among the rubbish of the gallery. Neither can I refrain from mentioning the capital portrait of a

¹ See Gaye, "Carteggio," ii., 551.

woman (No. 496), which hangs on the wall without its author's name. Whoever has been at Venice will certainly remember those comic representations of the life of the 18th century Venetians, both at the Museo Correr and in the small room of the Contarini division at the Academy of Venice; and the name of *Pietro Longhi* will not sound strange to his ears. I have no doubt this female portrait also belongs to that Goldoni among painters.

With Pietro Longhi the art of the Venetians nearly dies out, after having run through its shining rocket-path in the sky. But, with his Art, the Venetian himself disappears. Venice broke down from old age. Her palaces still stand erect, but forlorn and sad, like the beautiful shell of the nautilus, in whose silvery vault all kinds of strange animals have nestled. The breed of men that built the wondrous city and deserved to dwell in it has passed away; and with them vanished the lofty art, vanished the political wisdom, which between them once created Venice and made it what it was.

3. THE LOMBARDS.

The Lombard School of Painting, in the strict sense of the word, is hardly represented at all in the Dresden Gallery, for the few pictures that belong to it are scarcely worth mentioning.

The oldest specimen of the Milanese School that we find here, is the tempera picture, on canvas (No. 165), ascribed to *Ambrogio Borgognone*. It represents the Madonna in a white garment, praying before the Infant Christ; above her, God the Father in a glory of angels. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give this weak production to Ambrogio

da Fossano, but very unjustly. The painter of this picture was no doubt a contemporary, perhaps even a fellow-pupil of Ambrogio Borgognone under Vincenzo Foppa, but is far below him in importance. It is *Ambrogio Bevilacqua*. There are signed works by him at the Brera Gallery, and at the parish church of Landriano, near Milan.

Another Lombard is the author of the "Herodias with the head of John the Baptist" (No. 70). He was some inferior hack of the Milanese School, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci. Marco d'Oggionno is not to be thought of in this connexion.

Herr Hübner classes *Michelangelo of Caravaggio* with the Lombard School, probably because Amerighi's native place, Caravaggio, now belongs to Lombardy. But in Michelangelo's time all the land beyond the Adda was under the Republic of Venice. But that is neither here nor there, for Michelangelo Amerighi came to Rome a mason's apprentice, and it was there that he was first trained into an artist. He belongs, therefore, to the so-called Roman School of painting. The Dresden Gallery possesses some very good and characteristic pieces by this chief representative of the so-called Tenebrosi, or darklings. It was mainly on him that Ribera formed himself.

Dresden has also four good pictures by *Alessandro Magnasco*, called *Lissandrino* at Milan, where he served his apprenticeship, and where he chiefly worked afterwards. Two paintings (Nos. 215 and 216) have been in the gallery ever since 1741; two others are a quite recent acquisition (1875). They are numbered 625 and 626, and are described in the catalogue as works of Salvator Rosa. It is much to be regretted that the glorious old school of Milan, with its Vincenzo Foppa, its Bramantino, its Borgognone, and Luini, and Gaudenzio Ferrari, its Boltraffio, Andrea

Solario, Cesare da Sesto, and Giampietrino, &c., should be so utterly unrepresented in a gallery so important as the Dresden. To make good this defect would, I think, be a noble task for the authorities of this Pinacothec.

4. THE TUSCANS.

Let us begin our study of the works of Tuscan masters with the interesting tondo (No. 24) representing a "Holy Family."¹ This valuable painting was bought by Messrs. Hübner and Gruner in London, 1860, from the stock of the deceased picture-dealer, Woodburn, as a work of Luca Signorelli, which name it has also kept at Dresden. Herr Hübner remarks, in the interesting preface to his catalogue (p. 50), that easel-paintings by Signorelli are among the greatest rarities, even in Italy. Now, to my knowledge alone, Italy has at least two dozen pictures by this great master (at Milan, Florence, Cortona, Perugia, La Fratta, Città di Castello, Urbino, and elsewhere), so that the "great rarity" of Signorelli's pictures is somewhat relative and to be taken *cum grano salis*. I grant you, that to those who could see the mind and hand of Signorelli in this tondo, the genuine works of that master must have appeared "very rare, even in Italy." In fact, the easel-pictures of *Pier di Cosimo*, to whom this tondo most undoubtedly belongs, are very rare, even in Italy. But his wall-paintings are rarer still. Except the frescoes of

¹ Mary contemplates the Infant Christ, who lies before her on a stone that is covered with her mantle; the little St. John embraces the head of the Child, to the left sits St. Joseph. On a rock above the principal group are two angels singing.

the Sixtine Chapel at Rome,¹ I never heard of any. Let any student of art examine this tondo minutely, and then compare it with the pictures by Pier di Cosimo at the Berlin Gallery, at the Stanza del Conservatore in the Florence Foundling Hospital, and at the Gallery degli Uffizi, and I have no doubt he would abandon the opinion of the late Mr. Woodburn, of Messrs. Hübner, Gruner, Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii. 6), and come over to mine, which is, moreover, that of the profound Italian art-critic, Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni of Bergamo. Some excuse for the contrary opinion may be found in the ugly varnish, now turned yellow, that covers the picture, and makes it impossible to discern the beautiful colouring so peculiar to Pier di Cosimo.

To another great Tuscan of the 15th century, the Florentine *Alessandro Botticelli*, Hübner's catalogue attributes no less than six works. Let us begin with No. 32, representing the "Evangelist John," and No. 33, "John the Baptist." These two spiritless heads may be by some pupil or imitator of Botticelli,² but can never have come from the same great master that painted the "Miracle of St. Zenobius" (No. 34). In this highly dramatic representation I recognise the ingenious, lofty, but sometimes too eccentric "Sandro," with all his merits and shortcomings. This excellent panel belongs to about the same period of the

¹ In the fourth fresco, to the left of the altar, by Cosimo Rosselli, representing the "Sermon on the Mount," the whole of one side seems to me painted by Pier di Cosimo; the women sitting there are very characteristic of the master. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, following Rumohr, give only the landscape in this wall-painting to Pier di Cosimo, and all the rest to Cosimo Rosselli (ii. 522).

² Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 427) also designate these two pictures mere studio works.

master in which he painted the charming small panel picture representing "Jerome" of the Uffizi Gallery (No. 1179), there stupidly ascribed to Fra Filippo. Botticelli has represented several such dramatic scenes from the Christian mythology, *e.g.*, the "History of Esther," in several small panels. These little pictures, under the false name of Filippino Lippi, were in the Casa Torreggiani at Florence, till a few years ago, when they were peddled away into France; they are much injured by restoration. Also the magnificent "Calumnia d'Apelle," at the Uffizi (No. 1288), belongs to the same class of dramatic pictures by Sandro; so does the noble representation, in six acts, of the "Death of the Roman Virginia," in the author's possession. In paintings so full of life, and reflecting Botticelli's fiery dramatic spirit, one gets to know the master more intimately than in his Madonnas. I therefore cannot conceive how the authorities of the Dresden Gallery came to banish this treasure of a Botticelli to the upper floor, instead of hanging it downstairs by the works of Lorenzo di Credi, in the place of honour now taken up by the unedifying productions said to be by Lippi, Raffaellino del Garbo, and others. However, "*De gustibus non est disputandum.*"

The "tempera painting"¹ (No. 35), representing "Mary with the Child and little St. John," belongs likewise to Alessandro Botticelli, whereas the other little tondo, with the "Madonna, the Child, and Angels" (No. 36), must be assigned to his school, not to himself: it is the copy of a picture by the master. On the sixth "Botticelli" of this gallery (No. 37) I have already spoken my mind in discussing the paintings of Jacopo de' Barbari.

¹ Oil paintings (so-called) by Botticelli are altogether unknown to me.

Let us now examine the works of the immortal *Andrea del Sarto*. Herr Hübner tells us that this artist was born in Gualfonda, and died at Florence. But Gualfonda, that is, Valle fonda (deep dale), is merely a quarter of the town of Florence, not a separate locality, as Herr Hübner seems to suppose.

The ably composed picture (No. 55) representing the "Betrothal of St. Catherine to the Infant Christ in the presence of St. Margaret," is, unfortunately, much injured by restorations, yet not so badly but that the master can still be recognised in it. It may have been painted about 1512—1515. In the catalogue his monogram is given as though it were made of two V's intertwined; in the picture itself the two V's are converted by cross-lines into A's, which give us the real name of the painter, Andrea Angeli (son of Angelo)—Angelo is the name of his father, a tailor (Sarto) by trade. The Florentine commentators of Vasari (edition Le Monnier) give this picture to Domenico Puligo, a pupil and imitator of Andrea; I suspect, only on the authority of Herr Hirt. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, justly pronounce it a genuine work of Andrea del Sarto (iii., 581); they even think it "very rich and sfumato in colour," and produced at the period when Andrea imitated Fra Bartolommeo.

The second picture of Del Sarto in the Dresden Gallery represents "Abraham's Sacrifice" (No. 56), and is one of the hundred pictures selected from the Modena Gallery. In the year 1633 it still hung in the Tribuna of the Florentine Gallery, to which it seems to have come (say the editors of Vasari) from the collection of Alfonso Davalos. After that it was bartered for Correggio's "Rest on the Flight to Egypt," and so came into the Modena Gallery. But for this exchange, the Dresden Gallery would pro-

bably be richer by a Correggio and poorer by an Andrea del Sarto. Now there is a picture exactly like it, and also ascribed to Andrea, at the Madrid Museum (No. 387), measuring only 98 centimètres high by 69 broad. In the background of that picture are seen *two* servants of Abraham, which answers to the description of Vasari (vol. viii. 289), “vi erano, oltreciò, certi servi ignudi che guardavano un asino che pasceva,” *i.e.*, “there were, in addition, some naked servants guarding a grazing ass.” At that rate, we have two pictures by Andrea del Sarto, representing the same subject—one at Dresden, 7 feet high by 5 broad, and another at Madrid, much smaller. Both are considered originals by the esteemed authors of the respective catalogues. Herr Hübner says the Dresden picture was originally painted for King Francis I. of France. Señor P. de Madrazo, the author of the Madrid catalogue, states that the Madrid picture is a “repeticion” of the one that was left in Andrea’s studio at his death, and afterwards bought by Filippo Strozzi and presented to the Marquis del Vasto.

I consider this Madrid picture to be that replica in smaller size which Andrea del Sarto painted for Paul of Terrarossa: “Venne voglia a Paolo da Terrarossa, veduta la bozza del sopradetto Abramo, d’avere qualche cosa di mano d’Andrea, come amico universalmente di tutti i pittori; perchè richiestolo d’un ritratto di quello Abramo, Andrea volentieri lo servì, e glielo fece tale, che nella sua piccolezza non fù punto inferiore alla grandezza dell’originale. Il quadro fù poi da lui mandato a Napoli.” The painting in the Madrid Museum has suffered no less by restorations than the one at Dresden.¹ There is another replica of this picture at Lyons, but it is unknown to me.

¹ See A. Hirt, “Remarks on Art,” &c. (Berlin, 1830), p. 30.

I wish still to mention the newly acquired picture which has come to the Dresden Gallery from Italy, under the historic name of *Andrea del Castagno*. It represents the "Virgin and Child between St. Jerome and John the Baptist" (No. 20). The works of Andrea del Castagno are extremely rare even at Florence; besides his frescoes on the wall of a cell in the former convent "*Agli Angeli*," representing "Christ Crucified," his "Last Supper" in the refectory of the St. Apollonia Convent, and his "Jerome doing Penance" in the Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, there are probably few pictures to be found there now that can, with any certainty, be traced to this rough but vigorous master.¹ Now, is the new acquisition of the Dresden Gallery really a work of Andrea del Castagno, or does this feeble, drowsy tempera-picture belong rather to a Sienese painter of the second half of the 15th century? Does it not recall somewhat that school of Sassetta, which Matteo di Giovanni and even Francesco di Giorgio held by, more or less? I seem to know this master; I am sure I have seen some of his paintings at the Town Gallery of Siena, in that long passage where there are pictures by Matteo di Giovanni, Cozzarelli, Neroccio, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Giovanni di Pietro, &c., &c. I do not recollect his name, though, for the man did not seem to me worth remembering.

We have seen by the above-named works of Florentine masters, so-called, of the 15th century, that Prof. Hübner

¹ The equestrian picture of Marcucci, painted grey in grey, at the Cathedral of Florence, as well as the "Famous Men" in the "Bargello" there, are too much painted over and disfigured to be mentioned here as works of Andrea. The "Saints Francis and John the Baptist" at St. Croce belong, in my opinion, not to Andrea, but to Domenico Veneziano.

has no very intimate knowledge of the Tuscan Quattrocentists. Nobody need be surprised, therefore, that we felt compelled to accept the naming of the next picture (No. 39) with considerable reserve, nay, with misgivings that would not altogether hush. If easel-paintings by Signorelli are a great rarity to Mr. Hübner, those by Leonardo da Vinci are a great deal more so to me, and it is to Leonardo that this small Madonna is assigned in the latest catalogue. There can be no doubt that the use of this great name must have rather startled even the good folks at Dresden; hence the attempt to allay the public astonishment by adding "An early work of the master, about 1470." So then, in the opinion of our Dresden professors, Leonardo da Vinci actually painted this picture in his eighteenth year. To every connoisseur the knowledge of such a fact would have the more value, as there is nowhere else such a thing to be seen, that I know of, as an authentic picture dating from Leonardo's youth. But how did Messrs. Hübner and Gruner come to recognise in this picture the stripling Leonardo, or "Leonardino," as the Florentines would call him? Let us hear it from themselves (Preface, p. 56): "The picture of Leonardo da Vinci was, in the catalogue of the Woodburn Collection, designated a work of Lorenzo di Credi, but was *at once* recognised by the undersigned as an early work of Leonardo, and, as such, one of great value. Quite *accidentally*, in the Royal Collection of Drawings here, we found the study for the Madonna of the said picture, a drawing which has been in the collection, from time immemorial, under the name of Leonardo, and, indeed, like the painting itself, answers in every respect to that designation." I confess that this "quite accidentally," as a sort of *excusatio non petita*, aroused my suspicions from the first, and put me

on my guard. Might it not be, that the summary Julius-Cæsar judgment, pronounced by gentlemen so learned and usually so cautious, rested, after all, on a false premiss, a thing that happens now and then to other learned men? Afterwards, on a closer examination of the said Leonardo drawing, I was convinced that my suspicions were not wholly unfounded. When these gentlemen saw the little Woodburn picture in London, they would involuntarily be reminded of the "drawing ascribed to Leonardo from time immemorial," which they had left under glass in the Cabinet of Drawings at home. And they would argue: "If that drawing is by Leonardo—and no one has disputed its genuineness—why then, this little picture, which is so like the drawing, must be by the same master. But," they might go on reasoning, "as this little Madonna is very different from the celebrated pictures of Leonardo, we must suppose it an early work of the master, and give it out as such." No sooner said than done; on their return from the Thames to the banks of the Elbe, the academic Areopagus was forthwith convoked, the newly-purchased gem laid before it, not forgetting, of course, to take the well-known drawing out of its shrine, and confront it with the painting. And, behold, the little Madonna, known in London as a Lorenzo di Credi, was unanimously recognised at Dresden as an early work of Leonardo da Vinci, and its christening by Messrs. Hübner and Gruner finally ratified, sealed, and entered in the catalogue. Something like this I take to have been the course of the affair; and if I am wrong, I am sure the amiable and learned gentlemen on the Elbe will bear me no grudge.

But to come to the heart of the matter. Whoever has narrowly examined the genuine drawings of Leonardo at Windsor Castle, Paris, Turin, Milan, Venice, Vienna, Pesth,

and Florence, can hardly ascribe to Leonardo da Vinci's mind and hand the drawing in silver-point of the female figure at Dresden. The style of treatment does indeed remotely recall Leonardo, or rather the school out of which Leonardo sprang; but the oval of this female head seems to me to differ in no small degree from the female heads of the master; the outlines also of this Dresden drawing are rather too timid, the modelling too dowdy and feeble for Leonardo; and the position of the strokes is not that peculiar to Leonardo. The mouth with the swollen lips, the nose with the small round nostrils, the eyes too large, standing too much apart, and with far too long eye-lashes, the puffy folds of the dress on the breast, the medallion lying on it; all this reminds one rather of Leonardo da Vinci's master Andrea del Verocchio, and still more of his faithful scholar and conscientious imitator, *Lorenzo di Credi*; of whom the small chubby-cheeked child's head, slightly sketched beside the woman's right shoulder, is also suggestive. To my thinking, this somewhat blurred drawing in the Dresden Cabinet is not to be ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, but to his fellow-pupil in Verocchio's studio, Lorenzo di Credi.¹ But apart from that, we have to face the question: Was the draftsman of the silver-point drawing at Dresden really the same as the painter of the small Madonna (No. 39) in that Gallery? Is it not possible that Lorenzo di Credi's drawing, or even a painting of his, now lost, may have served, directly or indirectly, as prototype to some Flemish painter living at Florence about 1480-90? The glossy colour of this painting would of itself suggest some late pupil of the Van Eyck School;

¹ If I am not mistaken, it is really a study for Lorenzo di Credi's early work in the cathedral of Pistoja: "Enthroned Madonna between St. John and St. Zeno."

that curtain twisted like a corkscrew has quite a northern look, so has the pretentious petty cushion with tassels on the bed, as also the too vacant expression of the infant that does duty for the God-inspired Son of Elisabeth. All this speaks clearly enough against Messrs. Hübner and Gruner's opinion. And even if Leonardo himself had owned to having painted this picture not in his eighteenth but in his twelfth year, could (I ask) that Florentine, brimming with genius and grace, ever have perpetrated these miniature trees, these tiny bits of houses and towers in the background, which it takes a magnifying-glass to do full justice to ; could he ever have managed that hair and those little curls on Mary's head, or those stiff outlines in the body of the infant Christ ? I hardly think he could have done it if he had tried ; and I feel sure that many a connoisseur of Leonardo has cherished these misgivings before me.¹ But a truce to hair-splitting criticism ! The point I was mainly driving at is, I think, established, both on spiritual and material grounds, namely,—that this miniature-like Madonna (valuable as it may appear to those who admire the paintings of a Christophsen and the like) must on no account be assigned to Leonardo da Vinci.²

¹ Yet Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem really inclined to recognise this picture as an early work of Leonardo da Vinci : " This picture is indeed one which recalls Verocchio's pupil after he had left the master's atelier, though in colour and execution inferior even to his creations " (vol. ii., 410).

² Compare this so-called early Leonardo with the " Annunciation " by Francesco Cossa (No. 18), painted about 1470 ; the difference in technical treatment between a Flemish and an Italian painter will at once be apparent. Cossa's work is also executed with the greatest care and delicacy, but not miniature-wise, as is the manner of nearly all the old Flemish painters, whose works are perhaps after all nothing but miniatures on a larger scale.

About the other Madonna (No. 42), once likewise ascribed at Dresden to Leonardo da Vinci, I have already given my opinion.

In the charming Likeness of a Youth (No. 31), the Dresden Gallery possesses a very superior work of *Bernardino Pintoricchio*.¹ It is of the master's early period, about 1480. This painting is the more interesting, as one can recognise, I believe, in its technique, as well as in the quality of the tempera, the School out of which Bernardino Betti sprang, I mean that of his countryman, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

5. THE ROMAN SCHOOL.

PATER LUIGI LANZI was, if I am not mistaken, the first, or one of the first, who coined the name of the "Roman School," and gave it currency. Since that time the School has played a very considerable part in the literature of Art. A genuine *Latian* school of painting, originating within the walls of Rome, out of the Roman population, and reflecting the national character, there never existed, any more than there existed a Neapolitan or Sicilian, a Piedmontese or Ligurian School. Those who happened to build or chisel or paint at Rome were not sons of the soil, but came, in most cases, from the neighbouring countries, from Umbria or Tuscany, from the territory of Bologna or Venice, or from Lombardy proper to the capital of the Papacy. Neither Raphael nor Michelangelo, the supposed founders of this Roman School, was a son of Latium: the first was an Umbrian, the other a Florentine. A whole host

¹ That is, the *little painter*.

of pupils and imitators followed these two heroes, some of them, naturally, born within the walls of Rome. But these few painters, without any local character whatever, have surely no right to be considered representatives of a school of art. This question, however, is not to be discussed here.

I go on at once to examine the great work of Raphael, the so-called "*Madonna di San Sisto*," which once adorned the church of S. Sisto at Piacenza. It is perhaps the most beautiful picture in the world, and to it, more than to any other, the Dresden Gallery owes its world-wide celebrity. It cost Saxony about 220,000 francs. What price would it fetch now, when a Murillo has been thought worth 730,000 francs! None but a Rothschild could afford to buy it. If the picture were still standing in its little church of S. Sisto at Piacenza, not only would that town be more talked of and more visited than it is, but that picture alone would bring the inhabitants more gain than all they possess besides. For this pretty service the Placentines have to thank the venal greed of the Benedictines in the last century. Another proof that priests are no better than children of the world. They also are sons of their time. The picture has now a new, costly, and gorgeous, but somewhat heavy frame, whose glittering gold interferes with the colouring. It is moreover exhibited in a separate room, with light from the north. The space seems to me much too narrow, and it is my conviction that if it were hung higher, for instance in one of the large saloons, this dreamy, heavenly vision would make a more perfect impression on the spectator. Here, unfortunately, one sees too much of the damage the painting has received, chiefly from restoration. These injuries are specially obvious in the infant Christ

and on the forehead of the Madonna. But marred and mottled as it is, it nevertheless produces an indescribable, a magical effect. That this large picture was ever used for a processional banner, as Rumohr thought, can only be regarded as a whimsical dream of that ingenious but very capricious art-historian. In the narrow church of S. Sisto at Piacenza there would not have been the necessary space for performing a procession with so large a picture; besides, processional flags are generally painted on both sides; and lastly, at that time they understood the high worth of Raphael too well to employ one of his masterpieces for so dangerous a purpose. But these and similar objections against Rumohr's fanciful assertion have doubtless been urged by others of my calling, so that I need hardly have named them to my readers. Let us now take the other pictures that Hübner's catalogue ascribes to the Roman School.

The "Holy Family," No. 87, certainly does not belong to the School of Raphael, but is of Florentine lineage. I think it may be one of those many pictures which, Vasari tells us, were painted in the atelier of *Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo* by his numerous assistants for the picture-dealer Giovan Battista Palla, to be sold in foreign countries, mostly under more celebrated names. The character of this picture recalls partly Bugiardini, partly Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo, but it belongs neither to the one nor to the other, nor yet to Domenico Puligo.

On the other hand the Holy Family called "la Madonna della Catina," No. 95, is both a genuine work of *Giulio Romano*, and very characteristic of the master. Vasari mentions the picture in his "Life of Garofalo." It belonged at one time to Cesare Gonzaga.

The other paintings of any importance, which Hübner's

Catalogue classes under the Roman School, as Nos. 92, 93, 97, I have already touched upon in speaking of the Bologna-Ferrara School, to which they really belong.

We are now at the end of a not very entertaining task for lively minds. I hope the amiable Director of the Dresden Gallery, Professor Hübner, will pardon me for having so often contradicted his opinion, considering, that in this confused world, we cannot always have the same convictions. And I cheerfully admit that, in the judgments I have pronounced, all may not be pure gold. These pages are not likely to do his Catalogue much harm: it were vain for me to nurse the pleasing hope that any great number of my proposed emendations would find acceptance at Dresden. The art-public too might in the end find themselves all at sea with so many re-christenings in their Catalogue. But there are two that I am particularly anxious about, namely those relating to the Madonna of Moretto and the Venus of Giorgione; I earnestly entreat Herr Hübner to take these two corrections into consideration, and for once to set his face against that old maxim of the Capuchins: *Sinere mundum ire, quomodo vadit*.

6. DRAWINGS BY ITALIAN MASTERS IN THE PRINT-ROOM.

This collection at Dresden, though not so rich in good drawings by Italian masters as the one at Munich, yet possesses more than two dozen specimens well deserving to be studied by my young friends.¹

¹ I must here premise that unfortunately I have not had time to pass under review the Italian drawings of the 17th and 18th centuries.

THE VENETIANS.

CASE IV.

On entering the second room, we see on our left the Venetian drawings exhibited in a glass case. The first that strikes our eye is a large, washed drawing, in which is represented the enthroned Mary with the infant Christ; at the two sides of the throne are Faustinus and Jovita, the patron saints of Brescia. Three angel minstrels on the steps of the throne; mountainous landscape in the background. At the top of the yellowish leaf one reads "Johan Bellino." Hence the Catalogue ascribes it to Giovan or Gean (*sic*) Bellini. This superior drawing belongs, however, only to a contemporary of Giambellino, and by no means to Giovanni Bellino himself. It is from the hand of *Vittore Carpaccio*. This drawing is the sketch for a large panel picture which some years ago was in the house of Signor Angelo Averoldi of Brescia, and was afterwards sold away to England. The picture bore the master's signature, and was dated 1519: therefore one of the last works of the artist.¹

¹ Photographed by Braun, No. 51 of his Catalogue. I mention here for students, some other drawings by Carpaccio, the photographs of which are not difficult to get:

a. "Jewish Judges condemning a Christian to Martyrdom." No. 919 in Philipot's Catalogue.

b. "The Circumcision of Christ." Washed drawing. At the Uffizi Gallery, No. 918, Philipot.

c. "Mary with the Child and the Saints Rochus and John the Baptist." Washed Drawing. At the Uffizi Gallery, No. 917, Philipot.

d. Five whole-length figures, among them St. Rochus. Washed drawing. Studies. Erroneously ascribed to Giorgione at the Uffizi. No. 2816, Philipot.

e. Warriors, some on horseback, in Oriental costume. Washed drawing, in the Louvre, there ascribed to Gentile Bellini. Braun, 400, under the name of Giovanni Bellini.

Another washed pen-drawing, "The Entombment of Christ," is ascribed to Giambellino, but I believe without foundation. Genuine drawings by this great master seem very rare altogether; I at least know of only a few. Whilst it is common to ascribe to him drawings, which at best only belong to the same Venetian School, his own are introduced to the public under other men's names.¹

Above Carpaccio's characteristic drawing is another in red chalk, carefully executed, representing the "Marriage of Mary;" it is assigned to *Giovan Antonio da Pordenone*, and though much defaced, seems to be actually his handiwork.

The same case also contains, according to the Catalogue, two pen-drawings by *Titian*, one of them even recognised as such by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (in their "Life of Titian"). This drawing represents a fortified city on a river-island; on the shore two men with halberds; on the river several ships (No. 63 in Braun's Catalogue). On the other sheet one sees a man on horseback to whom a pedestrian seems to be explaining an inscription on a stone. Landscape, pen-and-ink drawing (Braun's Catalogue, No. 63). In my opinion these two drawings belong

¹ Thus, in the Lille Collection, a Virgin and Child, in black chalk and gypsum (No. 12, Braun's Catalogue), is ascribed to him, when obviously it belongs to Bartolommeo Montagna. At the Uffizi collection, a drawing in red chalk, by Francesco Morone of Verona (enthroned Madonna between Sts. Joseph, Rochus, Antony, and a cardinal) is still called a Giambellino; a great error, which has already been pointed out by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 492). On the other hand, in the Academy of Venice, there is a well-known pen-and-ink sketch for a "Pietà," ascribed to Mantegna, whilst it belongs to the early period of Giambellino (1460-70). Photograph by Perini. The Städel Institute at Frankfort also has a fine and genuine drawing by Giambellino. It represents Christ sinking under the cross, and is ascribed to Tintoretto.

to *Domenico Campagnola*, who, as we shall see further on, is often confounded with Titian, whom he imitated; so, for instance, in the Louvre collection.¹

THE FLORENTINES.

CASE XXVIII.

Among several very valuable drawings in this case, our eye is most of all attracted by a fine washed drawing, the work of *Beato Angelico da Fiesole*. It represents a winged angel, seen in front; over him a naked youth, with his left arm extended; this is one of the noblest and best preserved drawings of the master that ever came under my notice² (No. 22 Braun's Catalogue).

There is also a capital drawing by *Filippino Lippi*. The sheet shows us two men, of whom the younger is seated, with a cap on his head, while the elder stands before him bareheaded and with a long beard, holding an open book in his left hand. This fine study, very characteristic of the master, is executed in black chalk and gypsum.

To the same *Filippino Lippi*, and not to *Cosimo Rosselli*, as the Catalogue would have it, belongs the other fine drawing, which represents John the Baptist and a young

¹ In Mr. Reiset's Catalogue, drawings by Campagnola, and even those of Girolamo Savoldo are ascribed to Titian, e.g., the two fine male heads (in black chalk and gypsum) with the numbers 377 and 378 (Braun's Catalogue, Nos. 434 and 435). The head seen in profile is the study for the penitent S. Jerome in Sir Henry Layard's collection, a picture signed with the master's name.

² In the collection of the Uffizi Gallery; "Madonna with the Infant Christ," No. 533 in Philipot's Catalogue, also by Giovanni da Fiesole.

man sitting near him. Braun's Catalogue (Nos. 40 and 41). Filippino is easily to be recognised by his characteristic forms of the hand, the foot, and the ear. Yet he is often confounded, not only in his drawings, but even in his paintings, with his pupil Raffaellino del Garbo, sometimes also with his own father, Fra Filippo Lippi, or again with Perugino, and even Masaccio.¹

Somewhat blurred, though genuine and interesting, is the drawing in black chalk by *Luca Signorelli*, on reddish-brown grounded paper. It consists of four studies of the nude male figure in different attitudes. If I mistake not, they are studies for his "Last Judgment" in the Cathedral of Orvieto.

Two drawings, designated as works of Leonardo da Vinci, are not genuine. One, a male head seen in profile, belongs to that class of imitations of this master which one meets with in every collection (Braun's Catalogue, No. 47); the other, smaller, in black chalk, representing a naked man covering himself with his right arm, and supporting himself on his left knee, seems also devoid of the character peculiar to Leonardo (Braun's Catalogue, No. 48).

A third drawing ascribed to Leonardo is that celebrated

¹ He has been confounded with *Fra Filippo* in the following drawings of the Louvre Catalogue: No. 230, a man, in sitting posture, the head supported on his left hand, the right on his knee; No. 231, a young man sitting on the ground, and No. 232, two young men seated, one playing the mandola. With *Masaccio*, in a drawing at the British Museum, representing a soldier, with a man who is reading (Braun's Catalogue, No. 31). With *Perugino*, in another drawing of the same collection, ascribed to that master, but really a sketch by Filippino Lippi for his fresco painting in the Caraffa Chapel in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome: St. Thomas of Aquino preaching to the people (photograph by Braun, No. 148 of his Catalogue).

one in silver-point, which is supposed to be the sketch for the Madonna ascribed to the youthful Leonardo (No. 35) at the Dresden Gallery. This drawing represents a young woman with down-cast eyes and dishevelled hair, seen in front, half-length figure. The dress, closed in front with a medallion, forms under it a great bunchy perpendicular fold, such as Lorenzo di Credi was fond of, for instance, in his fine Madonna with the flower vase, No. 2 in the 1st room of the Borghese Gallery at Rome. The oval of this female head, however, is not so round and full as that in the painting, No. 35 of the Gallery; the drawing also seems to me lighter and more flowing here than in the painted picture, where it is extremely hard and stiff. Then again, the short, thick, pouting under-lip speaks for Lorenzo di Credi; being a feature very characteristic of the master. On the right-hand side of this female figure we perceive a child's head, lightly sketched. This drawing, somewhat effaced, yet fine and good, is in my opinion, by *Lorenzo di Credi*, certainly not by the budding "Leonardino," and still less by the mature Leonardo da Vinci. In the drawings of the latter, the strokes are, in the first place, never so fine and minute, and, secondly, they are generally drawn in the opposite direction.¹

¹ In Braun's Catalogue, No. 49. The Louvre collection possesses really the most and the finest of Lorenzo di Credi's drawings: I need only remind the reader of Nos. 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 207, in Reiset's Catalogue (Braun, Nos. 81—88). Also Nos. 2 and 345 (in the so-called *Libro di Lionardo da Vinci*) are still erroneously ascribed to Leonardo. Another drawing of Lorenzo di Credi's at the Louvre has been photographed by Braun (No. 184), under the name of Leonardo da Vinci, while Mr. Reiset contents himself with classing it among the unknown, No. 448. It represents the head of a child looking from left to right; in silver-point and gypsum; very exquisite. One would think it ought not to be difficult for an art-critic to distinguish Leonardo

I perfectly agree with Herr Gruner with regard to the authorship of the drawing, "Hercules with the Club," which he ascribes to *Baldasare Peruzzi*. The drawing belongs to his second or middle period. In his early time he was influenced by Sodoma, in his later by Raphael. Of the former, we find an instance at the Louvre Gallery, in that remarkable washed drawing, entitled "Triomphe" in Reiset's Catalogue (No. 437), and by him classed among the "unknown," with the additional remark, that the drawing might belong to Francia, or to Lorenzo Costa, or even to Pellegrino da S. Daniele. This remarkable drawing, which at one time belonged to Jabach, has been photographed by Braun, and is No. 363 in his Catalogue.

To B. Peruzzi's last period I assign, amongst others, the fine cartoon in the National Gallery, London, representing the Adoration of the Magi.

If, as we saw, the gentlemen at Dresden confounded Leonardo da Vinci with Lorenzo di Credi, they, on the other hand, ascribe to this latter a drawing which belongs to yet another of his Florentine contemporaries. It represents St. Stephen standing, and behind him St. Catherine

from Lorenzo. Keeping for the present to purely physical features visible to every eye, I call attention to the widely different forms of the ear in these two artists of one school.



LEONARDO.



LORENZO DI CREDI.

kneeling (No. 45 in Braun's Catalogue). If I mistake not, this drawing is by *Raffaellino del Garbo*.¹

THE LOMBARDS.

CASE III.

The selection of drawings in this case does not seem to me a very happy one; I will therefore not detain my readers with them long. The washed drawing heightened with white, though but hastily sketched, may really belong to *Correggio*. It is a study for his "Madonna with St. George," exhibited in this Gallery as No. 155. Even in this hasty sketch one discerns more the painter than the draftsman, inasmuch as the pictorial effect, the correct distribution of light and shade, is chiefly taken into consideration. Another washed pen-and-ink sketch by Antonio Allegri, much damaged, is the Madonna ascending to heaven, supported by two angels. The two Putti, under a sort of arbour, drawn in pen-and-ink and shaded with sepia, are not by Correggio, but by *Gaudenzio Ferrari* (Br. 84).

¹ A capital drawing, very characteristic of Raffaellino, is to be found at the British Museum. It represents the Baptist, whole-length figure, blessing with his right hand and holding a little flag in his left. On both sides of the figure are two studies of hands. No. 113 in Braun's Catalogue. Another one, representing the Virgin and Child between the Saints Catherine and Magdalen, and a glory of angels above, is to be found in the Gallery of Christ Church College, Oxford, where it is ascribed to *Pietro del Borgo*. The drawing, representing a Coronation of the Virgin, which at the British Museum is ascribed to Cosimo Roselli, is also by the hand of Raffaellino del Garbo.

THE UMBRIANS.

CASE IV.

Here we find several drawings ascribed to Raphael Sanzio, among which the valuable sketch in pen-and-ink for the ornamental border of a bronze-plate, is well worth our undivided attention. This magnificent drawing represents Neptune seated in a chariot drawn by two sea-horses; Naiads riding on dolphins, Amorettes carried by sea-monsters, Silenus on a turtle, sea-horses led by Centaurs, etc.; in short quite a Homeric picture. This exquisite drawing, first outlined in red chalk, and then filled in with the pen, is, according to Passavant, the one that Vasari tells us Raphael prepared for his patron the rich Siennese merchant, Agostino Chigi, a settler at Rome, with a view to having it executed in metal by Cesarino Rosetti of Perugia.¹ The sketch for a figure of Eve is also very fine. Of great interest too is the lightly sketched pen-drawing of the Fighting Horsemen, a study made by young Raphael about 1504, after the celebrated cartoon of Leonardo da Vinci.

All three of these drawings have been photographed by Braun, and are numbered 74, 75, 79, in his Catalogue.

Let us now examine those drawings by Italian masters which are preserved in portfolios.

¹ Among the drawings by Raphael at Windsor Castle there is a very fine one representing Neptune, Centaurs, and Tritons fighting. On the back there is a sketch of the "Massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

THE VENETIANS.

PORTFOLIO I.

The "Prodigal's Return" (?), a slight sketch in pen-and-ink by *Domenico Campagnola*.¹

The two drawings said to be by Titian seem to me erroneously ascribed. The penitent St. Jerome is only a copy of Titian's picture at the Brera Gallery, while the drawing in red chalk, "Emperor and Pope," sitting side by side on a throne, and surrounded by dignitaries of the church, might rather belong to Bonifazio Veronese. The Bonifazios used to sketch in blue chalk and fill in with red chalk, as is the case in this drawing.

The washed drawing in red chalk, which comes next, and represents a solemn procession on horseback, appears to me to be a preparatory sketch by the Veronese, *Domenico Riccio*, called Brusasorci (burner of rats), for his well-known wall-painting in a room of the Palazzo Ridolfi at Verona, setting forth the entry of Charles V. and Clement VII. into Bologna. Before this drawing, one easily discerns how many things Paolo Veronese may have learned from this his elder countryman.

¹ Pen-drawings by Campagnola seem to have been appreciated and sought after, even in his life-time. The Anonymus of Morelli mentions several, for instance (pp. 25 and 152): "In casa de M. Marco da Mantova, Dottore: li paesi in tela grandi a guazzo, e li altri in *fogli a penna* sono de man de Domenego Campagnola." Philipot at Florence has photographed several genuine drawings by Domenico Campagnola; they have in his Catalogue the numbers 1045 and 1341. I also advise my young friends to study minutely the engraving of the "Massacre of Innocents at Bethlehem," of the year 1517. The Judgment of Paris (pen-drawing) also belongs, in my opinion, to D. Campagnola; it is ascribed to Titian (No. 375) in the Louvre Catalogue of Mr. Reiset (Notice des dessins, etc.)

PORTFOLIO II.

There are in this Portfolio some drawings by *Paolo Veronese*, and one, likewise genuine, by his countryman and contemporary, *Paolo Farinato*. The drawings of Farinato are sometimes ascribed to Veronese, for instance, in the Louvre Gallery (Br. 405, Costumes du temps). There are several more of the Veronese School.

THE FLORENTINES.

PORTFOLIO I.

"St. Antony tempted by a Beautiful Woman," by *Plautilla Nelli*. In this weak drawing the pious nun has imitated Fra Bartolommeo. The superior drawing in silver-point, representing a man in kneeling attitude, is assigned to Fra Filippo Lippi, but is certainly not by him.¹ To my thinking, it belongs to the Perugia School, and recalls Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

In the teeth of my resolve to mention none but genuine drawings, I must nevertheless draw the attention of my readers to a washed drawing which represents the head of John the Baptist in a charger, and is ascribed by Herr Gruner to no less a master than Leonardo da Vinci; really a too malicious profanation of that honoured name! The head of the Baptist in this hideous drawing—*horresco referens*—is so foreshortened that from a certain point of view it looks a good deal like a boiled carp. What notions

¹ The drawings of this great master are very rare. Those exhibited in the corridor of the Uffizi Gallery must be mere copies from Fra Filippo's paintings. The Louvre collection possesses a genuine drawing by Filippo, in silver-point and chalk: two heads, one of them damaged (Catal. Reiset, 229). The Darmstadt Collection has also a drawing by this master, in black chalk and gypsum.

must they have of Leonardo da Vinci at the print-room of the Dresden Gallery, to saddle him with such miserable fooleries of the end of the 17th century !

The drawing here ascribed to Francesco Pesello, named Pesellino, appears to me to be only a modern copy from his Predella in the collection of the Florentine Academy.¹ A similar copy in the Uffizi collection at Florence, is there given out as an original drawing by Pesellino.

The two interesting drawings (" Rape of the Sirens ") assigned to Lorenzo di Credi, have already been discussed by others and given back to their real author, the Venetian *Jacopo de' Barbari*. These drawings belonged at one time to Mariette. Very characteristic of Jacopo de' Barbari are especially the round shape of the Siren's head, the half-open mouth, the clumsy thumb of the Putto playing the flute.

On the other hand, the head of a boy seen in profile is correctly ascribed to *Luca Signorelli*. The shape of the ear is characteristic of that master. Black chalk drawing. Excellent also is the drawing in red chalk by *Fra Bartolommeo* ; it represents a man seen from behind, with a knife in his right hand. Whole-length figure. By *Sandro Botticelli* there are three genuine drawings in the Dresden Gallery : they are studies for the figure of John the Baptist, executed in pen-and-ink, sepia and gypsum (No. 9).

THE LOMBARDS.

PORTFOLIO I.

" Seated Madonna, with the infant Christ ; near her to the right St. Elisabeth with the little St. John, to the left an angel." This superior drawing in red chalk (No. 2)

¹ In Braun's Catalogue, No. 36.

is rightly ascribed to *Cesare da Sesto*, whose drawings are not very often to be met with. In the British Museum there is one by him, representing studies for a Madonna figure, and on the back a head drawn in red chalk. This drawing is ascribed to *Leonardo da Vinci*, as well as another of his at Windsor Castle, also executed in red chalk, and representing studies for an Infant Christ. But I cannot believe that these drawings were studies for the well-known fresco painting at St. Onofrio, Rome, as some have stated. Among the drawings in possession of Mr. J. P. Heseltine, London, there are some studies of the figure of St. John the Baptist by *Cesare del Sesto*, for his picture, representing the baptism of Christ, in the collection of the Duke Scotti at Milan. The Academy of Venice has several good ones; the collection of the Royal Library of Turin some excellent ones; and the Louvre collection has a few in the so-called *Libro di Lionardo da Vinci*; for instance, No. 6,782, a drawing in red chalk, with St. George on a prancing horse (mentioned by *Lomazzo*); No. 6,357, drawing in red chalk, with the Madonna and Child, and the Saints Jerome and John the Baptist; No. 6,781, pen-drawing, with studies for Madonnas.

I fully agree with Mr. Gruner in his attribution of the "Christ bound to a pillar." This drawing in gypsum (No. 18) is ascribed to *Aurelio Luini*, the son of Bernardino.

PORTFOLIO II.

This Portfolio contains several genuine drawings by the Genoese artists, *Benedetto Castiglione* (idyllic scenes), and *Luca Cambiaso* (Nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22).

ROMAN SCHOOL.

PORTFOLIO I.

I do not venture to decide whether the good perspective drawing of a Street belongs really to *Pier della Francesca*, or to Frate Carnevali, or perhaps to Melozzo da Forlì (No. 1). Whichever of these three masters it may belong to, it has, at all events, nothing in common with the Roman School. The pen-and-ink sketch for the tomb of Pius II. in the church of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome seems to me not without interest. It belongs to *Pietro Paolo da Todi*.

Here I conclude this too hasty review of Drawings by Italian Masters in the Print-room at Dresden. I do not deny that I may have made some mistakes, for good intentions alone do not suffice for such a task as this; some of my corrections, however, may stand the test of time.

Should this critical essay have induced some few of my readers to take up the anything but easy study of drawings, I should think myself amply rewarded for my labour.





III. BERLIN.

WHILE the Pinacotheca of Munich excites our full admiration, from the number of important pictures that it possesses of the German and Flemish schools of painting, the magnificent rooms of the Dresden Gallery impress us with the fact that for the general art-loving public, there is no other picture-collection in the world that can rival it in attractive beauty. It is not only wonderfully rich in masterpieces of the best periods of almost all the schools of painting, but in Raphael's "Madonna of S. Sisto" it possesses, perhaps, the most beautiful picture in Christendom. Its Correggios, Titians, Paolos, its Palmas and Bonifazios, its Ruysdaels, Rembrandts, Rubenses, and Wouvermans, its Adrian van der Velde, its Heydens, and especially its Metzus, are celebrated all over the world, and in fact rank among the finest productions of modern art. And while the Dresden collection has an indescribable absorbing charm for the amateur, it further possesses a special attraction for the general art-loving public, which is not much given to thoughtful examination of a picture, but is more disposed to lose itself in a dreamy enthusiasm as it lolls on the comfortable cushions of the gallery.

The Berlin collection is of later origin than the two

just named; little more than half a century has elapsed since its foundation. After the fall of Napoleon I., when Reaction raised its head all over Europe, there was also a revulsion in matters of artistic taste. The shape in which it asserted itself was, that the Quattrocentists, hitherto quite neglected, came to be more or less valued again. From that time, in judging works of art, men began at least to take into consideration the *age* that gave them birth, and thus unconsciously they paved the way to the doctrine of the present day, that Art is to be regarded as an organic whole. Hence they endeavoured, as far as possible, to bring historical views to bear in laying the plan of a picture-gallery.

It was a great disadvantage to Berlin, as compared with Dresden and Munich, that the favourable time for the acquisition of first-rate works had long gone by, the finest treasures being, so to speak, out of the market, and already secured in other hands. Yet, the Prussian Government had one great advantage in forming its art-collections—that of being able to act upon historical principles, and therefore with more critical judgment.

It was fortunate for the Berlin Gallery in its nascent state, that in the first decades of our century, the Pre-raphaelites still held a comparatively inferior rank in the eyes of so-called connoisseurs, being everywhere classed below the productions of the Carracci period. To have taken advantage of the then prevailing taste with brilliant success, was the merit of the English banker Solly, who in judging works of art used that personal discrimination which has distinguished several men of his calling, from Jabach of Cologne to the Rothschilds of to-day.

This clever connoisseur had managed, at a comparatively small cost, to form a picture-gallery that perhaps no

private collection of the present day could rival. When in the year 1821 the Prussian Government was fortunate enough to acquire the Solly Collection, it comprised nearly 600 pictures, amongst them the celebrated Van Eyck, the exquisite "Madonna" of Raphael's early period, several excellent works by Francia, Filippo, and Filippino Lippi, D. Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and others. These Solly pictures form the nucleus of the Italian paintings in the Berlin Gallery.¹ The acquisition of the Solly Collection does great credit to the judgment of the Prussian Government; yet, in speaking of the art-collections of Berlin in general, one ought not to pass over the lively and enlightened interest taken in Art by members of the Prussian Royal Family. If competent Art-critics like Baron von Rumohr, who has done so much to embellish and enrich the Berlin Gallery, were consulted and listened to at Berlin, it was not so much the merit of the bureaucracy as the personal merit of the intellectual Crown Prince, afterwards King Frederick William IV. At the same time, the Government always took care to entrust none but approved Art-critics with the superintendence of their collections, whilst elsewhere it is a common thing to appoint some popular painter in actual practice, who, unversed in the history of Art, and, moreover, biased by the modern predilections of his profession, will in most cases do more harm than good to the collection confided to his care.

¹ A good third of these Italian pictures were brought together by a certain Abate Massinelli of Bergamo, a shrewd, enterprising speculator in pictures, who bought them partly from churches, partly from private individuals, all over the North of Italy. Before they came into the hands of the English collector, they had undergone, in the studio of Giuseppe Molteni of Milan, either a restoration or only a cleaning, according to the condition they were in. This fact was communicated to the writer many years ago, by the late painter Molteni himself.

In the year 1874 the Berlin Gallery received a considerable, and in many respects valuable addition, by the purchase of the collection of the banker Suermondt of Aachen, containing many rare works of the Dutch masters. Besides these large purchases, the intelligent directors, enthusiastic for the glory of their gallery, have never lost an opportunity to enrich it with new, and often very valuable works of art; whilst in the noble Crown Prince, a true lover of all that is beautiful and good, they have always found a persuasive advocate of the necessary outlays. Thus, of late years, the collection has advanced with giant strides, and bids fair, before long, to match the other galleries, not only in solid worth, but even in quantity.

In respect of masterpieces by the matadores of the several European schools of painting, the Berlin Gallery will, of course, bear no comparison with those of Dresden and Vienna; on the other hand, to students anxious to learn, it offers, even now, such an epitome of the historical development of Art as no other collection in the world can do. There is, in fact, no other gallery where we find the Flemish School so completely represented, from the brothers Van Eyck down to Rubens and Van Dyck; the Dutch School from Mierevelt to Adriaen van der Werff; the Venetian from Antonio da Murano to Tiepolo; the Ferrara-Bologna School from Cosmè to Bagnacavallo, the Florentine from Fra Filippo to Alessandro Allori, the Umbrian from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Melozzo da Forlì to Raphael Santi, &c. In the galleries of Vienna and Dresden, the Art of the 15th century is hardly represented at all; these collections are only rich in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries, pictures that certainly cast a far stronger spell upon the senses than the dry,

straightforward, effectless, but always honestly progressive Quattrocentists.¹ But if anyone wishes to penetrate to the heart's core of Art, and derive from it a deeper intellectual enjoyment, to him I recommend, first of all, a visit to the Berlin Gallery. When he has become intimately acquainted with this valuable collection, and familiar with its treasures, then, and only then, let him treat himself to the unspeakable delight that the Dresden Gallery will offer him; there on the Elbe, in those halls of a temple truly worthy of the Muses, he will perceive and fully prize the particular merits of this Berlin collection.²

The moment we set foot in the interior of Schinkel's stately pile, we are tuned to high and happy thoughts by the solemn greeting given us by some of the noblest Italian Quattrocentists. On our right we see Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi; on our left, the somewhat crusty but always manful Cosimo Tura, and his talented pupil Lorenzo Costa. Here we have representative men of two of the most artistically-gifted tribes of the Peninsula, the Florentines and the Ferrarese. These populations, though separated only by the Po and the Apennines, are yet of widely different physiognomies. But now confront these Florentines and Ferrarese with a Dürer, a Cranach, a Burkmayr, or say, with a Van der Weyden, a Memling, a Quintin Matsys; the local charac-

¹ During the last few years, the Direction of the Dresden Gallery has honourably striven to fill up many a gap by its acquisitions of pictures by Mantegna, Antonello da Messina, Signorelli, Lorenzo di Credi, Cavazzola, &c.

² To prevent misunderstanding, I must explain, that when I visited the Berlin Gallery, many Italian pictures were not to be seen, because some of the rooms were being rebuilt.

ters of these Italians would at once retire into the background, while the common national character of their country would be overpoweringly conspicuous in their features. Is not this a confirmation of the maxim that the outer visible form is conditioned by the spirit that animates it, and this again partly by the composition of the blood, and partly by the external nature, in the midst of which a man grows up and lives?

I begin my studies in the Berlin Gallery with the works of the Ferrara-Bologna School. If Berlin has not, like Dresden, the advantage of possessing works of the rare Ercole Grandi di Roberto, or of Francesco Cossa, yet it can boast of having not only the most important picture of *Cosimo Tura*, the founder of this school, but also works of his most prominent pupils, as Lorenzo Costa, Domenico Panetti, and even, if I mistake not, a picture of the little-known Francesco Bianchi, that is, nearly all the more distinguished of Tura's intellectual posterity.

It was a peculiarity of the old Ferrarese artists, which, however, they shared with some contemporaries of the school of Squarcione, for instance, the great Mantegna,¹ that they decorated the throne of the Madonna with painted reliefs; a fashion which came down through Francesco Bianchi even to Correggio, with whose early works it may be said to expire.² But what is altogether peculiar

¹ See his splendid picture in the church of S. Zeno at Verona.

² In the fine "Madonna," by Francesco Bianchi, at the Louvre, an oval of the throne-sole contains "Adam and Eve," painted grey in grey. A small painting of Correggio's youthful days, "Marriage of St. Catharine," now possessed by Dr. G. Frizzoni of Milan, shows likewise in an oval "The Sacrifice of Abraham." Lastly, the throne in Correggio's large picture (No. 151) of the Dresden Gallery, is ornamented with an oval representing "Moses with the Tables of the Law."

to the old Ferrarese, from Tura down to the pupils of Costa, is the construction of the Madonna's throne in two parts, so that between the base and the upper part of the throne is left a vacant space, through which we look into the open air.¹

As Dr. J. von Meyer very aptly remarks, Cosimo Tura (Cosimo is pronounced Cosmè in Ferrarese) holds the same place among the Ferrarese as Andrea Mantegna in the School of Padua, and Dario of Treviso in that of Treviso, as Bartolommeo Viverini and Giovanni Bellini (1460—1480) in the Venetian proper, Vincenzo Foppa in the Lombard, &c. But as each school had its Mantegna, so each had also its Pietro Perugino, and at length its Raphael. The place that Perugino holds in the School of Perugia, belongs of right to *Lorenzo Costa* in the Ferrara-Bologna School.

Of this ingenious, delightful, and, to my thinking, much underrated painter, the Berlin Gallery possesses several very good and characteristic pieces, one of the year 1502, another marked 1504. Lorenzo Costa had moved from Ferrara to Bologna as early as the year 1483. It is generally stated, that Francia may possibly have learned from him just the technique of painting, but that no sooner was he master of the brush than he reacted with overpowering effect on Costa. Any unprejudiced student who compares the two pictures here by Lorenzo Costa,

¹ Such a throne we see in this picture (No. 111) by Tura; and a similar one in a picture in the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 175), ascribed to Stefano of Ferrara; also in several pictures by Lorenzo Costa (seventh chapel on the right, S. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna), and even in a picture by Francia, the follower of Costa (first chapel on the left, S. Martino of Bologna); and in pictures of the early period of Amico Aspertini.

painted in the first years of the 16th century,¹ with his great tempera pictures of 1488 in the Bentivoglio Chapel (Church S. Jacopo Maggiore), will hardly be able to dispute that one and the same character looks out from all these pictures, though spread over a period of some sixteen years. In St. Cecilia's Chapel (S. Jacopo Maggiore at Bologna), where both painters worked together in 1505—1506, the spectator of those splendid frescoes is left in doubt whether Costa was more indebted to Francia, or he to Costa.

The municipal vanity of the Bolognese went so far, that some of their local writers, in speaking of the great altarpiece, now in the choir of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna,² while they could not question the execution of it by Costa, felt bound nevertheless to claim the invention and drawing for their own Francia. This statement has even been repeated by the Florentine editors of Vasari

¹ One of these pictures (No. 112), is a "Presentation of Christ in the Temple;" the other (115), a "Mourning for Christ." From this last the painter Niccolò Pisan has borrowed a great deal in his "Deposizione di Croce," No. 122 in the Pinacotheca of Bologna. I take this opportunity to suggest to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 455), that Niccolò Pisan was first an imitator of Costa, and afterwards of Garofalo (see his picture No. 194 in the Brera Gallery), but is not to be confounded, as they have chosen to do, with the much older Cremonese painter Niccolò Soriani. Niccolò Pisan was a Bolognese, and worked somewhere about the years 1504—1538. See Gualandi's "*Memorie originali italiane, riguardanti le Belle arti*," Serie 1^a, p. 34. In the National Gallery there is an altarpiece dated 1505 (No. 629) by Costa, and two other pictures in the collection of Mr. Graham, London. The pictures by him at Hampton Court are ascribed to P. Perugino. One of them, a female portrait (No. 295), is given by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Boateri (iii. 251); the other, a female saint (No. 304), to Chiodarolo. Even in the British Museum a fine pen-drawing by Costa, representing four female figures, is ascribed to P. Perugino.

² This picture represents the Coronation of Mary, with six Saints.

(Ed. Lemonnier, iv. 243, 2); which is the less excusable in them, as there exists in their own city, among the collection of drawings at the Uffizi, the pen-and-ink sketch for that very painting, though, indeed, under the false name of Filippino Lippi. (Photographed by Philpot in Florence No. 763.¹)

I have already attempted elsewhere (see my articles on the Borghese Gallery, in Lützow's "*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*"), by examples taken from paintings in the Florentine collections, to make it clear to my young friends that the outward characteristics of a school are often so faithfully transmitted from master to pupil, that novices in the science of Art are apt to confound, for instance, Fra Filippo Lippi with his exemplar Masaccio, him with Filippino Lippi (Portrait No. 286 at the Uffizi Gallery), Fra Filippo again with Botticelli (Uffizi, No. 1179), or, as is the case in a Northern Gallery, Raffaellino del Garbo with his master Filippino. Therefore, when we see that at Florence Botticelli has been mistaken for

¹ Close to it we find there another pen-drawing, likewise attributed to Filippino, but really by Chiodarolo, a pupil of Costa. (Photographed by Philpot, No. 2,877.) It represents Saint Cecilia before the Proconsul, and is the sketch for Chiodarolo's good fresco in St. Cecilia's Chapel, S. Jacopo Maggiore at Bologna. From this pen-drawing by Chiodarolo, as also from the drawings of Amico Aspertini, we see very clearly how all the Bolognese painters of the so-called Francia School learned their art chiefly from Lorenzo Costa. In the few drawings that I know of Francia, he appears much nobler in his forms, and more careful and conscientious in his execution, and in them also shows himself more a modeller than a painter. The "*Judgment of Paris*," in the Albertina at Vienna, seems to be his best drawing. I therefore advise all students to get the above-named photographs, and study them at their leisure. Such a study of drawings will lead far more quickly and surely to an accurate knowledge of the great masters and their schools than the contemplation of their mostly "restored" and consequently disfigured paintings.

his master Fra Filippo, and at Berlin for his pupil Raphaelino del Garbo (as in the Virgin with the Infant Christ and Saints, No. 87), it can scarcely surprise us that in England a similar confusion seems to have taken place. Mistakes like these can easily be avoided by a careful study of the forms of the human body (especially the shape of the hand and also of the ear), and of the harmony of colours, so different in the works of these artists. In my opinion the two excellent but somewhat defaced pictures in the National Gallery, No. 592 and No. 1033, both representing the "Adoration of the Magi," are works, not of Filippino's, but of Botticelli's, whose dramatic powers are well displayed here. On the other hand, I assign to pupils of Botticelli's the two Tondos, No. 226 and No. 275, and two other pictures bearing the numbers 916 and 782. In all these works I miss not only the great painter's high-spirited sentiment, but also the brightness and transparency of colours peculiar to him. Four genuine pictures by Botticelli, illustrating one of Boccaccio's tales, are in Mr. Lyland's collection. Similar mistakes have happened with works of the Ferrara School. The "St. Sebastian," an unmistakable work of Cosmè (now belonging to the antiquary, Guggenheim of Venice), is attributed by all the art-critics, even by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 538), to his pupil Lorenzo Costa, and that principally on the ground that Costa's name stands written on it in Hebrew characters.¹ Inscriptions, as well on pictures as elsewhere, can only have a relative value, namely, so far as they are in accordance with the

¹ It may be that Lorenzo Costa was influenced by Tura in his early works; at Bologna, he seems to have been swayed a little by Ercole Grandi and Roberto.

object they describe. Hence, the old Venetian proverb: "chi guarda cartelo, no magna vedelo," who looks at labels, eats no veal (comes to grief). That Hebrew inscription, however (if it really means Magister (?) Laurentius Costa), is contradicted by the picture itself, which so plainly bears on its face the stamp of Tura, that it might well be set before the tyro as a type of his manner. Again, as this figure of St. Sebastian, excellent in its way, was the occasion of Cosmè being taken for his pupil Costa; so in another famous picture (at present in the house Strozzi at Ferrara) Costa himself has been confounded with his pupil Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare. One must, however, admit, that here the scholar has come so close to the manner of the master, that it would not perhaps be too bold to assume, that the composition of the picture comes from Costa, and only the execution belongs to Grandi.¹

For the instruction of my young friends, I will here set



Lorenzo Costa's Shape of
Hand.

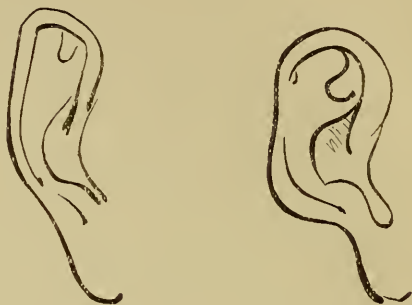


Cosimo Tura's Shape of
Hand.

before their eyes a facsimile of the shapes of ear and hand in Cosimo Tura and in Lorenzo Costa, that they may the

¹ The picture represents an enthroned "Madonna and Child," between St. Guglielmo and John the Baptist; it came to the Strozzi Gallery from S. Cristoforo degli Esposti. The throne is ornamented

more easily discern the difference in form between these two Ferrarese masters. While Tura is lumpy and angular, Costa likes to lengthen out his forms. I remark once more,



Lorenzo Costa's Shape of Ear.

Cosimo Tura's Shape of Ear.

that the landscape backgrounds of Costa, which generally present a view of the Reno Valley near Bologna, are in their fine sense of line and their poetical conception unrivalled among the landscapes of his contemporaries.

The Ferrarese *Francesco Bianchi* was probably one of the early pupils of Cosmè. He was born between the years 1440—1450. His oldest picture known to me is in the hands of the heirs (Lombardi) of Professor Saroli at Ferrara, and represents "The Death of Mary." This painting was formerly in the church of the convent of S. Guglielmo at Ferrara.¹

with reliefs grey in grey, one of which represents Adam and Eve (as in Francesco Bianchi's picture at the Louvre), and at the same time the "Sacrifice of Abraham" (as in Correggio's picture at Signor Frizzoni's).

¹ On wood, with gilt ground enriched with arabesques. Mary lies

Bianchi can hardly have removed to Modena before the year 1480. And if he was living at Ferrara till that time, many Ferrarese painters, whom hitherto we have traced directly to Tura, may have served their apprenticeship in Bianchi's studio instead. Judging especially by his picture in the Louvre, I would include among his pupils at Modena, that *Marco Meloni* of Carpi, by whom the Modena Gallery has several signed and good pictures (Nos. 58 and 59). Still Meloni must have finished his education in the School of Francia, and must also have seen works by P. Perugino.

The small picture in this gallery, which I think is to

dead on a bier, surrounded by the twelve Apostles; below them two angels swinging censers; above them Christ, with angels hovering round him, and holding on his knees the soul of the departed in the shape of a young girl. The folds in the mantle of Christ are still entirely after the manner of Tura; the head of the young girl who represents the soul of Mary reminds one strongly of the Madonna heads, both of Tura and of his later pupil Costa; the form of the hands, with the fingers too long, and that of the ears, are also characteristic of Francesco Bianchi. In this work, which must belong to the early period of the master, Bianchi shows himself a scholar of Tura. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark on this picture (i., 534-5): "This picture is ascribed by some persons to Mantegna . . . This is an ugly picture with all the faults of the Ferrarese, and something of the manner which Grandi might have had in his earliest period; but query, is it by him or the young Costa, or even Coltellini?"—and (p. 539-41), "it may be possible that the 'Death of the Virgin' should be an early Costa; admitting this, Costa would prove to be a disciple of Ercole Grandi (!)". Such fumbling on the part of men so shrewd and well-informed proceeds, I think, from a total absence of method. Another picture by Bianchi is to be found in the Municipal Collection of Ferrara (No. 29). It represents the "Virgin and Child" between St. Jerome and Maria Egiziaca, and the hermits Paul and Antony; above them the "Annunciation" (under the name of Lorenzo Costa). Several works by Francesco Bianchi at Modena; in the picture-gallery there, in the house Rangoni, in the church S. Pietro, &c.

be ascribed to Francesco Bianchi, represents the Circumcision of Christ, and is numbered 119. The late Dr. Waagen, with fine discrimination, traced it to the Ferrara School, and coming very near the truth, added "akin to L. Costa." But I go a step farther, and despite the mask which the restorer has fastened on the picture, I believe I recognise its true author, our Ferrarese Bianchi, called at Modena *Frarrè* (The Ferrarese). The date of 1516 which the picture bears would speak against this opinion, as Bianchi is said to have died in 1510. But this time I am bold enough to trust to my eyes, which clearly recognise the master in the forms of the hands and ears, and the attitudes and movements of the figures, rather than a date which might have been stuck on at any later time, and which therefore I regard as apocryphal.

There is yet a third pupil of Tura, and contemporary of L. Costa, whose acquaintance we are privileged to make in this gallery. I mean *Domenico Panetti*, the painter of picture No. 113. It represents the "Lamentation round the Dead Christ," and is signed with the painter's name. Panetti is a master whose works are very rarely met with outside his native town.

If we have called Lorenzo Costa the Perugino of the Ferrara School, we might in some respects call Panetti its Pintoricchio, though, as an artist, the Perugian far surpasses our somewhat dry and narrow-minded Ferrarese. Panetti was probably born between 1450—1460, he died in 1512. There is surely no occasion to suppose that he carried on his studies under the influence of Umbrian masters; to me he seems, in all his works, a thorough Ferrarese.

Lodovico Mazzolini ought rather to be considered a pupil of Panetti than of L. Costa, who was living at Bologna. This opinion is supported by the forms of the ear and

hand in his paintings, by his landscape backgrounds,¹ and by his scale of colours. Of this sparkling Ferrarese the Berlin Gallery has several characteristic works.²

And now we have made our way, step by step, to the two most noted painters of this School, *Giovanni Dosso* and *Benvenuto Garofalo*. They hold about the same position among the Ferrarese as their contemporaries Gaudenzio Ferrari and Bernardino Luini do in the Lombard School. All these lived at one epoch, when art attained its culminating point in Italy. That Dosso ever resided at Rome, as the catalogue says, I take leave to doubt. I know of no document from which one could draw such an inference; and in his works Dosso is always Ferrarese. In his later time, it is true, his Ferrarese colouring becomes Venetian,³ but of Raphaeelite influences there is nowhere a trace to be found in his works.⁴

¹ The same steep conical blue mountains with streaks of dazzling white are found in the landscape backgrounds of Francesco Bianchi, Panetti, Dosso Dossi, and Garofalo. Photographs of drawings by L. Mazzolini are to be found in Braun (137) and Philpot (767).

² I have never met with any well-accredited drawings by Panetti. I have seen several by Mazzolini; two at the Uffizi Gallery, under the name of Ercole Grandi (Philpot, 767), "Apostles Reading;" the bust of an old man with a rough beard (Inconnu, No. 445 in Mr. Reiset's catalogue); a court of justice with the judge sitting on a throne, &c., in the collection of the Duke d'Aumale (Braun, "Beaux Arts," No. 139). All these drawings in chalk, water-colour, and gypsum, differ in their technique from the drawings of Lor. Costa and his pupils.

³ When in the year 1516 Titian came for the first time to the Court of Alfonso I. at Ferrara, he found the ducal painter already installed at the castle as the guest of the Duke. We can easily understand how Dosso's intercourse with Titian must have had some influence on the Ferrarese. Besides, it is quite possible that Dosso had himself visited Venice, and studied colouring in the paintings of Giorgione, Titian, Palma, Lotto, &c. Of this his best time Prince Chigi at Rome possesses an excellent picture.

⁴ That he had to copy Raphael's S. George and S. Michel for Duke

In the year 1512 Dosso had already finished his paintings for the Court of the Gonzagas at Mantua. He also worked at Trient in the year 1532, and his "Enthroned Madonna with the Child," before whom a sainted bishop is presenting Cardinal von Cless, still remains in the Castle there, although much damaged (over a door leading into the Senate House). Dosso's picture (No. 264) in this gallery is a fragment, and represents the Fathers contemplating the mystery of Mary's immaculate conception; unfortunately, it has been so much injured by repainting that in its present condition one can form by this no just idea of Dosso's art.

His contemporary and rival, *Garofalo*, is better represented in these rooms. His "Jerome doing Penance" (No. 243), his "Adoration of the Magi" (No. 260), his "Entombment" (No. 262), and his "Annunciation," are very good pictures, by which one may get to know the master well. For more about him I refer the reader to my essay on the Borghese Gallery in Lützow's "*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*."

We now come to the BOLOGNESE proper, a people that long continued to hold by the Ferrarese in the matter of Art. Their painters of the 14th and the first half of the 15th centuries, the so-called *Crocefissai*, Jacopo Avanzi, Lippo Dalmasio, and others, are very inferior artists compared

Alfonso does not imply that Dosso was influenced by Raphael. It is true a letter of the Ferrarese *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Papal Court shows that Battista Dosso was at Rome in 1519, that he was on speaking terms with Raphael, nay, that Raphael knew Dosso's elder brother; but this superficial acquaintance does not give us the right to suppose that the one painter exercised an influence over the other. (See *Campori*, "*Notizie inedite di Raffaello d'Urbino*," pp. 29 and 30, Modena, 1863.)

with the Veronese Altichiero and Vittore Pisano, or even the contemporary Sienese and Florentines. Their Marco Zoppo was really no better than a caricature of his master, Squarcione; besides, he spent the greater part of his life at Venice. It was only about the year 1470 that the elder Bolognese School (the so-called School of Francia) was founded by Ferrarese painters, whom the Bentivogli had invited to Bologna, namely, Francesco Cossa, Galasso Galassi, Ercole Roberti, and, above all, Lorenzo Costa (1483—1509). If we examine, for instance, the niello works of Francesco Raibolini, who remained a goldsmith till about 1490, we find in them nothing of that style which was afterwards developed in his paintings by contact with Lorenzo Costa. This Ferrara-Bologna School of painting is also pretty completely represented at the Berlin Gallery by the masters *Francesco Raibolini* (called Francia)¹ and his sons *Giacomo* and *Giulio Francia*, by Amico Aspertini, Girolamo Marchesi, Bartolommeo Ramenghi, and Innocenzo Francucci.

Among the great beauties of this collection are, first of all, a few works by the noble and, in his forms, always pure and tasteful *Francia*, in his crude but vigorous early manner. At the head of these I place the lovely "Madonna and Child with S. Joseph" (No. 125), which Francia painted for his friend Bianchini, and which seems to belong to about the same period that gave birth to his wonderful St. Stephen in the Borghese Gallery at Rome. The ears and hands in this picture are very characteristic of the master.²

¹ The drawings of Francia are very rare; the Albertina at Vienna possesses one of great beauty, the "Judgment of Paris."

² Another early work of the master, representing a Virgin and Child, is in the interesting collection of Lord Elcho.

Whether Francesco Raibolini ever was, as the catalogue pretends, under the influence of Perugino and of Florentine Art, is a matter that I will not enter upon, being myself strongly opposed to the "influencing" theory of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, because I think it utterly inconsistent and unhistorical.

Amico Aspertini is but feebly represented in this gallery by his picture of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" (No. 118). This disciple of Costa is very unequal in his works. Sometimes he is extravagant and *baroque*, at other times his paintings contain the loveliest episodes, *e.g.*, his two frescoes in the chapel of St. Cecilia at Bologna. Amico likes sometimes to bedizen his pictures with gold and to make them attractive by all sorts of accessories. He generally gives his figures too large a skull, and by this you may often distinguish them from those of his master. Sometimes, however, especially in portraits, he comes so near to Lorenzo Costa that it is not easy to tell the one master from the other. But Aspertini's scale of colours is always lower than that of Costa's.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the authority of Malvasia, consider Amico Aspertini to be not a pupil of Costa,¹ but of Ercole Roberti, to which master they also give several pupils of Pintoricchio, though only second-rate pupils. Further, the frescoes by Aspertini in the chapel of S. Cecilia, of the year 1506,² they declare to be his earliest works; whereas his great altar-piece marked "Tiroci-

¹ The Uffizi Gallery possesses a characteristic drawing by A. Aspertini. Philpot, 1237.

² In the year 1875, when the frescoes in the chapel of S. Cecilia were cleaned, the date 1506 was discovered on one of the paintings by Lorenzo Costa. The whole chapel, therefore, was completed before Pope Julius II.'s entry into Bologna.

num," in the Bologna Pinacotheca, belongs, beyond all doubt, to a much earlier period. Then, they ascribe to this Bolognese master one (No. 573) of those two little pictures in the Museo of Madrid which Don Pedro Madrazo's catalogue assigns to the Old-Umbrian School; to me, however, they appear unmistakable works of Baldassare Peruzzi's early period, when he was still painting under the influence of Pintoricchio, as in his frescoes in S. Onofrio at Rome.¹ The other picture (No. 574) is left unnoticed by the historiographers (i. 576). We know from the frescoes in S. Onofrio that Baldassare Peruzzi, before he took Soddoma for his pattern, painted under the influence and guidance of Pintoricchio.

The collection contains several pictures by Francia's sons and pupils, *Giacomo* and *Giulio*. "Chastity" (No. 271) belongs to the early period of Giacomo, and was probably painted after a drawing of his father's. "Mary with the Child and St. Francis" (No. 293), is also an early work of this master. In the large picture, "Mary as Queen of Heaven" (No. 287), the St. Francis and John the Baptist seem to me to betray the hand of the younger brother Giulio.

Works of Giacomo in the thirties (1530—1539) show distinctly the influence wielded over him as well as other Bolognese, by the then celebrated Dosso (Brera Gallery, No. 171 and 177). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe to the same Giacomo Francia the two frescoes in the Chapel of St. Cecilia, one representing the "Baptism of Valerian," the

¹ The two little pictures in the Museo of Madrid, probably Cassoni, represent, one the "Rape of the Sabine Women" (No. 573), a subject that B. Peruzzi handled again in his second or Soddoma period (in a picture possessed by Prince Mario Chigi at Rome); the other (No. 574) the "Continence of Scipio."

other the "Martyrdom of S. Cecilia" (i. 574); but, in fact, as Lami informs us in his "Graticola" as early as 1560, they are from the hand of *Tamarozzo*, a scholar of Costa and Francia.¹

Bartolommeo Ramenghi of *Bagnacavallo*, is another painter of Francia's School, who afterwards took Dosso for his model. I very much doubt if he was at all influenced by Raphael, either directly, like *Girolamo Marchesi*, or indirectly, like *Innocenzo da Imola*. At all events, I never met with a work of his in which I could trace any *mental* influence of Raphael. In his early pictures he reminds us of the School of Francia, much in the same way as his contemporaries *Giacomo* and *Giulio Francia*; later on, he imitates Dosso. The doctrine of a direct influence of Raphael on his contemporaries must be received with great caution, just as the influence of Mantegna or Perugino on their contemporaries is to be understood *cum grano salis*. These accepted traditions, in most cases, have their root in municipal vanity. This much we may admit with reference to many painters of the first half of the 16th century, that the propagation of Raphael's compositions by the engravings of a *Marcantonio*, a *Marco Dente*, a *G. Caraglio*, and others, contributed much to extend the influence of the great Urbinate more or less over all the provinces of Italy.

Bagnacavallo's painting in this gallery (No. 238), represents the Saints *Petronius*, *Agnes*, and *Louis of Toulouse*, and belongs to that period of the master when he imitated Dosso.

¹ In the collection of Signor *Poldi-Pezzoli* at Milan, we find a *Madonna* with the naked *Infant* seated on her knee, and the little *St. John*, signed CESAR . TAMAROCIVS.

Another Romagnole, contemporary with the above-named masters, is *Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola*. He ought to be considered less a disciple of Francia (as the catalogue would make him) than as a pupil of his own countrymen, the brothers Francesco and Bernardino Zaganelli of Cotignola.¹ Of this we have convincing proof in his early works, such as the "Entombment," No. 119 in the picture-gallery of Pesth, signed "Hieronymus Marchesys de Cotignola." Evidently, then, his picture in *this* gallery, of the year 1526, the "Promulgation of the Rules of their Order to the Bernardines" (No. 268) belongs to the time when this Romagnole had been at Rome, and received a powerful bias from the genius of Raphael. Nay, it is in the highest degree probable that Marchesi actually painted in the Loggie, that is to say, from the drawings and under the personal superintendence of Raphael.

We conclude this hasty survey of the Ferrara-Bologna School with a third Romagnole, who also tried in his later time to imitate Raphael, but with nothing like the same ability as Girolamo Marchesi. This painter was named *Innocenzo Francucci*, and came from *Imola*. But how much he had been influenced in his youth by the Florentines, and especially by Mariotto Albertinelli, is particularly evident from his picture (No. 216) at the Pinacotheca of Bologna, the Holy Virgin receiving a great number of devotees under her mantle; also in the "Madonna" (No. 587) of the Lichtenstein collection of Vienna. His one picture in the Berlin Gallery (No. 280) is that of the "Virgin and Child, with Saints."

A totally different training from that of the Romagnoles

¹ The Zaganelli again must have been scholars of N. Rondinello.

just named, fell to the lot of their two countrymen, *Niccolò Rondinelli* of Ravenna, and *Marco Palmezzano* of Forlì. The former learned his art in the studio of Giambellino at Venice; the latter from his own great countryman Melozzo, a direct or indirect disciple of the learned Pier della Francesca. Palmezzano, who does not rise above mediocrity, must have been influenced latterly by Rondinelli, as we see by the Madonna's thrones, richly adorned with gilded arabesques, which are so characteristic of the Ravennese master.

While the Berlin Gallery has no pictures either by Rondinelli or by Palmezzano, it does contain the work of a later Ravennese, *Luca Longhi*. The same thrones with gilt arabesques appear in Longhi's pictures too, and lead us to suppose that he served his apprenticeship under the eye of his fellow-townsmen Rondinelli. But afterwards, I think, he must have visited Bologna, and studied the works of Innocenzo da Imola and Giacomo Francia.

Pictures in his first manner, which extends to about the year 1545, all have a somewhat antiquated look; in his second manner he can be recognised as an imitator of the then highly favoured Parmeggianino. His enthroned Mary, with the Infant Christ and Saints, in this gallery (No. 117) is of the year 1542, and therefore still belongs to his first manner.

If the Berlin Gallery can produce no work by the dull Palmezzano, it shows us instead, a most interesting picture by his master and countryman, *Melozzo da Forlì*. This is an allegorical representation of the patronage of Science by Duke Frederic of Montefeltro at the Court of Urbino, and was one of a series of similar pictures that probably served to adorn the great library in the noble Castle of Urbino. The other pictures of the

same set are in England: two at the National Gallery (Nos. 755-6), representing Rhetoric and Music (?); and one at Windsor Castle, Duke Frederic and his son Guidobaldo, with his tutor, Victor of Feltre, on panel.¹ A fifth painting of the series I saw years ago in one of the upper rooms of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome; Duke Frederic sitting on his throne-chair, before him his son Guidobaldo as a boy.² Melozzo and his countryman Bramante, a few years younger than he, may have imbibed the rudiments of their art, in architecture as well as painting, from one source, probably at Urbino. They were both architects more than painters; they only applied the latter art to the adornment and embellishment of their buildings. And they seem to me to bear a great resemblance to each other, *e. g.*, in their way of modelling heads.³

¹ This picture, which has seen rough usage, is of a different shape from the rest of the set, being doubtless adapted to the space it had to fill.

² Some of the best-known pictures of Melozzo are: (a) the fresco, transferred to canvas, in the Vatican Collection; (b) the minstrel-angels in the Sacristy of S. Peter's at Rome; (c) Christ surrounded by Angels, over the staircase of the Quirinal; (d) the very much repainted portrait of young Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, on panel, in the Colonna Gallery at Rome, there ascribed to Giovanni Santi; (e) the profile portrait of a prince, perhaps Girolamo Riario, Master of Forlì, in private possession at Milan (?); to which add (f) an interesting drawing in the rich collection of Mr. Malcolm, London, ascribed by Chennevières to Giambellino, but we can recognize in it a fellow-student of Bramante. It represents Christ standing on clouds, with the terrestrial globe in his hands; below, ten cherub-heads, in sepia and ink.

³ Wall-paintings by Bramante are only to be seen (and even those much damaged) in the house Prinetti, 4, Via Langone, Milan; on the façade of the Castiglioni (now Silvestri) in the Corso, Porta Venezia, Milan; there is also a painting in tempera, "Christ Bound to a Pillar," in a chapel of the Abbey of Chiaranella, Milan, there ascribed to Bramantino.

The Milanese Bartolommeo Suardi, called Bramantino, is in his art a follower of Bramante, just as the Veronese Falconetto,² is, at least partly, a follower of Melozzo. And these northern disciples of the two Urbinate were, like them, quite as much architects as painters; or at all events, as painters, they were more especially *decorative painters*. A comparison of these two artists with each other and with the Sienese Baldassare Peruzzi, who was likewise both an architect and decorative painter, might not be altogether without interest as regards the process of development of Italian art; but this is not the fittest place to carry out the comparison. Let us then turn down again from the Rubicon, and skirt the Adriatic coast, where we look about us in vain for a focus of art. To find such a focus again, we must turn our back to the sea, and ascend into the neighbouring mountains, to Urbino, Fabriano, Gubbio, and Sanseverino.

The Berlin Gallery possesses no works of the Urbino painters, neither of *Fra Carnevali*,³ nor of *Giovanni*

¹ Two pictures in tempera by Bramantino are to be seen at the Ambrosiana Gallery; an enthroned Madonna with Saints at Sir Henry Layard's in Venice; a magnificent Madonna, with numerous saints, from the Manfrin Collection. Wall-paintings: "Holy Women Lamenting Christ," over the door of the church S. Sepolcro; the giants Atlas and Hercules in the cortile of the house Melz Borgonuovo; several frescoes in the Brera Palace at Milan. Also the scenes from the life of S. Aveyes, in the chapel to the left of the choir of the church S. Teodoro at Pavia, seem to be by Bramantino. A barbarous restoration has quite ruined the picture.

² The Communal Gallery at Verona possesses a picture on panel, by this rather inferior painter; it represents Augustus and the Sibyl. There are also wall-paintings of his at a house on the Piazza S. Marco, at the cathedral, and in the churches S. Ferro, S. Nazzaso, and Celso at Verona.

³ Only a few works of this master have come down to us. The

Santi, the father of Raphael, neither of *Girolamo Genga*, nor of *Timoteo Viti*. To the last-named painter indeed the catalogue still ascribes a Jerome chastising himself (No. 124) and an enthroned Madonna with the Child and Saints, but I think with great injustice. The small St. Jerome has quite the character of the Perugian School of painting, and approaches the manner of Giovanni Spagna; it has, therefore, nothing to do with Timoteo Viti, who belongs to the School of Francia.

About the other picture, the enthroned Mary (No. 120), let us first hear the opinion of Baron Rumohr. That learned German art-critic, in the third volume of his "Italian Researches," p. 23, speaks of the painting as follows: "The characters of the inscription IO. SANCTIS. VRBI. P. on the beautiful picture in the Royal Gallery of Berlin have a more genuine appearance; also the charming (?) boy on the right in his little shirt has something in him like the later pictures of Raphael (!) a circumstance that impresses one favourably for the genuineness of the signature."

Rumohr's opinion was evidently influenced by the circumstance of the painting being signed with the name of Giovanni Santi at the time when he saw it. At a later

Brera Gallery possesses a masterpiece of his: an enthroned Madonna, surrounded by angels and saints, Duke Federico da Montefeltro kneeling before her. In the Poldi Museum, also at Milan, we see a standing figure of St. Michael (No. 769), a characteristic work of this faithful imitator of Pier della Francesca. A figure of St. Michael by Fra Carnovale is in the National Gallery (No. 769); there we find also a picture by Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, representing a Virgin and Child (No. 751). But the two frescoes formerly in the Petrucci Palace at Siena, which are ascribed to Pinturicchio, are in my opinion the productions of Girolamo Genga. A good drawing by this master, representing a Virgin and Child, is in the collection of Mr. Hezeltine.

time, however, probably at a cleaning or restoration of the painting, the signature disappeared, and the picture was left without a name. In this perplexity they looked about for the name of some Urbino painter, and thought that of Timoteo Viti might be the most suitable.

Such was Art-criticism only half a century ago. And I do not know that since that period of paradisaic innocence it has made any remarkable progress, at least with regard to the importance of Timoteo Viti. If I am not much mistaken, this enthroned Mary proceeds either from *Luca Longhi*, or from some painter of the Romagna that comes very near him. The types and characters remind one of Luca Longhi, so does the throne-recess of the Madonna with the green, red-bordered curtain behind it, not to mention the child's head, with its hair parted simply, rather in Longhi's manner. Be that as it may, the picture No. 120 can in no case belong to the noble Timoteo. As I intend to give my full opinion about Timoteo when discussing the pictures of Raphael's early period, let us without delay pass on to the UMBRIANS, by whom there are several interesting works in this gallery.

Whoever visits the hill-town of Perugia will be struck (at least I was) with two things—the fine, lovely voices of the women, and the view that opens before the enraptured eye, over the whole valley, from the spot where the old castle stood of yore. On your right is the little town of Deruta; on your left, perched on a projecting hill that leans against the bare sunburnt down, lies black Assisi, the birthplace of St. Francis, where first his fiery soul was kindled to enthusiasm, where his sister Clara led a pious life, and finally found her grave. Lower down, the eye can still reach Spello and its neighbour Foligno, while the range of hills, on whose ridge

Montefalco looks out from the midst of its grey olives, closes the charming picture. This is the gracious nook of earth, the smiling landscape, in which Pietro Perugino loves to place his chaste, God-fraught Madonnas, and which in his pictures, like soft music, heightens the mood awakened in us by his martyrs pining after Paradise.

These valleys, these mountains, both on this side and the other side of the Apennines, seem to have been the principal seat of the Umbrians, after they were pushed out of Northern Italy by Ligurians on the one hand, and Illyrians on the other. In later times, the Umbrians, after long and obstinate fighting, seem to have entered into friendly relations with the Etruscans, who pressed upon them from the North and West; and the mixed race that resulted from this blending of Etruscan and Umbrian blood—namely, the Umbrians of the Middle Ages, might point to the sense of Art which they have evinced as the surest proof of their intimate blood-relationship to their neighbours, the modern Tuscans. Stronger and more stubborn was the resistance the Umbrians offered to the Latins pressing on from the South. Yet, all along the Adriatic, they were driven from the coast by the invaders, and cooped up in the mountains.¹

¹ As birds may be divided into song-birds and birds of prey, so in the great family of man we find some nations gifted with a sense for Art, and others to whom Nature has denied it. Among the populations of old Italy that were most richly endowed with the sense of Art, we count the Etruscans; among those devoid of this feeling are the Latins. Hence, the latter have produced great citizens, great legislators, statesmen, lawyers, and warriors, but not a single national School of Art. To me a sure sign that the Adriatic coast from the Rubicon southward, to the Tronto, is peopled by Latins and not by Umbrians, is the total absence of Art along that coast. "South of the Po," says Mommsen (*"History of Rome,"* i. 113), "and at the mouths of that river, Etruscans and

Therefore, in speaking of an Umbrian School of Art, we ought not only to include in it, as is generally done, the Perugian and perhaps the Foligno School, but also the various Transapennine Schools, which, in my opinion, are much more original and characteristic, if not so celebrated, as the Perugian; I mean here the School of Gubbio, which attained its culminating point in Ottaviano Nelli; the School of S. Severino, and especially the School of Fabriano, whence issued Allegretto Nuzi and his world-famed pupil Gentile da Fabriano. All the above-named Schools of Painting flourished in the beginning of the 15th century; at a time, therefore, when neither at Perugia, nor Assisi, nor Foligno, did the people's artistic bent show any signs of life.

The painters who adorned the convent churches of Assisi with wall-paintings were not sons of the soil, and those that painted or chiselled at Perugia mostly came from Tuscany. If, therefore, we would become thoroughly conversant with the real, the original character of the Umbrian School, we must not (as everybody has done since Rumohr) take Niccolò da Foligno, much less P. Perugino or Pinturicchio, as its representative; but rather keep our eye fixed on the typical painters of the Gubbio, Sanseverino, and Fabriano Schools.

Unfortunately, Ottaviano Nelli's well-known wall-painting in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio is the only work of his that has come down to us in

Umbrians were mixed together; the former as the dominant, the latter as the older race, which had founded the ancient commercial cities of Hadria and Spina, whereas Felsina (Bologna) and Ravenna appear to be of Etruscan foundation. On the left bank of the Po, up to the Adda, the Etruscan blood seems altogether to have taken far deeper root than on the right bank."

tolerable preservation. It dates from the year 1404; the choir of angels round the Virgin is full of grace, though neither the head of St. Mary nor those of the angels show the slightest trace of that religious fervour and passionate longing which first came in with the School of Niccolò da Foligno, and which in the School of P. Perugino became so characteristic that it has been designated a principal mark by which to know the Umbrian from all other Italian Schools.¹

The best preserved pictures of the brothers G. and L. da Sanseverino are the frescoes in the Minorite Church of S. Giovanni at Urbino, whose walls are adorned with scenes from the life of John the Baptist and the Virgin.² In these paintings we begin to meet with portraits of men and women full of life and expression; but even here we look in vain for that languishing character so distinctive of the Schools of Foligno and that of Perugino.

The School of Fabriano attained its celebrity not so much through Allegretto Nuzi as through his eminent pupil Gentile da Fabriano. It was before his wall-paintings in St. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome (in which, it is true, his fellow-workman the great Pisanello of Verona had also a hand), that Roger van der Weyden in 1450 is said to have hazarded the remark, that Gentile appeared to him the most excellent painter in all Italy.³ These

¹ Passavant, i. 49: "Le Pérugin, tant qu'il sut allier ce caractère particulier à l'école ombrienne, dont le vieux Niccolò Alunno avait été un des premiers initiateurs."

² There is, in the National Gallery, London, a very rare and interesting work by a son or relative of the said Lorenzo da Sanseverino. It represents the Marriage of St. Catherine (No. 249), and is signed Lorenzo II° da Sanseverino.

³ See Bartolommeo Facio, "De viris illustribus," p. 44.

wall-paintings, unfortunately, have come to grief, like his other frescoes, including those in the Sacellum of Pandolfo Malatesta at Brescia¹ of about the year 1418, his paintings in the Doge Palace at Venice (1420), and those in the Cathedral of Orvieto (1425—1426). Only a few small panel-pictures by this master are preserved, of which the best known are the "Apotheosis of Mary with the Saints Francis, Jerome, Magdalen, and Dominic" in the Brera Gallery, a small "Madonna" in the Town Gallery of Perugia, and the two at Florence, in the church of S. Niccolò and at the Academy. This last picture, the "Adoration of the Kings," is, no doubt, the best among them, and has also been praised by Art-historians above its due. Compared with his great contemporaries, Fra Angelico, Ghiberti, Masaccio, Pisanello, I think a subordinate place is all that of right belongs to Gentile as an artist.

The Berlin Gallery possesses, according to the catalogue, no work by any of these Umbrian painters of the early part of the 15th century; we will, therefore, reserve our review of the Transapennine Schools of Umbria for another opportunity, and go on to our study of the Art-School of Perugia.

Baron Rumohr was probably the first who characterised the Umbrian School as follows ("Italian Researches," ii. 310): "In spite of many technical imperfections, these Umbrian Schools of Painting, from the middle of the 15th century, and perhaps long before, had, in their *depth* and *tenderness* of feeling, and in a wonderful union of vague reminiscences of old Christian Art with the

¹ Facio, *ibid.*: "pinxit et Brixiae Sacellum amplissima mercede Pandulpho Malatestæ."

latest Christian doctrine, a secret charm to which every heart unlocks itself, and which gave them the advantage over their Tuscan, Lombard, and Venetian contemporaries; although their strain of feeling, in itself beautiful and praiseworthy, is apt in the long run to weary by its monotony. How such a peculiar tendency came to spring up in this particular neighbourhood, I have tried to explain above (though without giving sufficient proofs) by the influence of the Sienese *Taddeo Bartolo* on the Perugian district; a painter who seems to have been the first to strike into that path.

“At the same time we must take into account the position of those little townships that begirdle the Hill of Assisi—the hallowed abode of holy Francis—and from their close proximity to the centre of his institution, must have been the more inclined to adopt those views and that bent of mind which govern his Order, and which undoubtedly contributed to bring modern painting to its utmost height (!) This tendency first showed itself, not at Perugia, where, about the middle of that century, Benedetto Bonfigli (a very indifferent painter of genre) was the reigning favourite, but at the smaller town of *Foligno*, and in the works of *Niccolò Alunno*.”

From this exposition of Baron Rumohr we gather:—

1. That in the middle of the 15th century the general public favoured the indifferent painter Benedetto Bonfigli, in whose pictures there is not a trace of that ascetic temper which we observe later on in the paintings of Perugino and also of Pinturicchio.

2. That the first Umbrian painter in whose works this beautiful temper revealed itself, was Niccolò Alunno of Foligno; and—

3. That the excitation of this tendency may be traced

partly to the Sienese, Taddeo di Bartolo, who had worked at Perugia in the beginning of that century, and partly to the proximity of that hallowed ground of St. Francis of Assisi.

The earliest signed picture of Niccolò da Foligno is said to bear the date 1458,¹ the latest is of the year 1499; we may therefore conclude that he was born about 1430, and would be about twenty years of age when Benozzo Gozzoli, after lending a helping hand to his master, Fra Angelico da Fiesole, at the chapel of Orvieto cathedral, during the years 1446—1447, came in 1450 to the little town of Montefalco. Here, in the church of St. Fortunato, Gozzoli went to work at those beautiful frescoes that have all the freshness of youth about them. Benozzo may have worked in Montefalco and its neighbourhood down to the year 1455. When he left Montefalco he seems to have settled at Perugia, where, amongst other pictures, he may very well have painted the fine altar-piece of the year 1456, which has now found a lodgment in the Town Gallery of Perugia.

If, therefore, Niccolò da Foligno was a growing youth when Benozzo Gozzoli came to Montefalco in 1450, we shall not be taking too bold a step if we suppose him to have entered the studio of Gozzoli as a pupil. And, in fact, when looking at any of Niccolò's earlier paintings, one cannot help remarking, that one and all they teem with reminiscences of Benozzo. Him, therefore, and no other, I consider to have been Niccolò's real master, under whose guidance he developed into a true artist. Just outside Montefalco, on the road that leads to the church of S. Fortunato, stands the so-called Capella della Cancel-

¹ Mariotti, "Lettere Perugine" (Lett. V. p. 81).

lata, adorned with frescoes in which both the hand and the mind of Alunno are clearly to be discerned. In every part of these wall-paintings the man of Foligno has evidently worked under the influence of Gozzoli. We have the same remark to make on Alunno's paintings in the church of S. Maria in Campis, near Foligno. Here, too, he plainly declares himself a pupil and imitator of Gozzoli.¹ But in his later works, when left to himself, Niccolò da Foligno always betrays that tendency to exaggeration which marks the inhabitant of a small provincial town; he becomes unnatural, and even grotesque, as one may easily convince one's self by seeing his altar-pieces, which are not very rare, in the galleries of Rome.

We now come to the local School of Perugia. Our later critics, especially in Germany, prompted by the writings of the ingenious Art-historian, Baron Rumohr, have attached to this School an importance above all other Italian Schools, which, I think, is misplaced. Let me therefore be allowed to express my opinion also on this, though, as space enjoins, very cursorily. The communication of it, like these studies in general, is not intended for the great Art-loving public, but addressed to those few

¹ In the "Crucifixion," for instance, the angel in green drapery is quite Gozzolesque, and in the "Annunciation," on the opposite wall, the announcing angel is downright borrowed from Benozzo, or to put it more exactly, from Fra Angelico, from whom Gozzoli had taken it. The folding, the form of hands, even the expression, reminds one altogether of Benozzo. And what is more, the golden nimbus with narrow streaks is not only Angelico's as well as Gozzoli's, but the same that we meet with some years later in the pictures of the Peruginese, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. From what has just been said, the influence of Fra Angelico on this Umbrian, through the medium of Gozzoli, seems to me more probable and clear than the influence of the much earlier Siennese, Taddeo di Bartolo.

young students who take pleasure in searching for themselves, and who would rather draw their wisdom from the works of the masters than from books on Art. But my opinions will, no doubt, sound like heresy in the ears of the Scribes, and consequently of the multitude.

Now at that period of Italian art which is generally called the Giottesque, neither the town of Perugia nor its territory could produce a single artist worth naming. The interior of the noble convent church of Assisi, built by a North-Italian,¹ was painted by Giotto and his scholars, but not one Perugian do we find among them. Further, during the whole of the 14th century, both in Perugia itself and in the surrounding district, we meet almost entirely with painters from the neighbouring school of Siena, such as Guido di Siena, the insignificant Meo di Guido (1319), Luigi di Francesco Tinghi (1385), the great Taddeo di Bartolo of Siena, about 1403, and in 1438 his brother and pupil Domenico di Bartolo.² And even in the great succeeding epoch, the "scientific-realistic," when the endeavours of a Paolo Uccello, and after him of a Piero di Borgo S. Sepolcro, laid the foundations of linear perspective, when the study of the human figure was making such rapid strides in the workshops of the Florentine silversmiths, Perugia had not a single representative of herself to show, and was therefore forced about the year 1440 to

¹ Not by a "German." The people in the extreme north of the peninsula, Ticino, Como, &c., were at that time often called Alemanni. The architecture of the church of Assisi is not German, but Italian-Gothic.

² Of all the here-named masters one can find works in the Municipal Gallery of Perugia; of native painters, on the contrary, there is no sign whatever—one proof more that at that time the love of Art of the Perugian people had not yet been developed.

invite two foreign masters, Pier della Francesca and Domenico Veneziano.

In the year 1446 we find indeed a painter—"Johannes de Boccatis"—settled at Perugia, who came from the neighbouring Transapennine mountain-town of Camerino; but the art of this man was nothing extraordinary, as we may easily convince ourselves by looking at his three pictures in the gallery of Perugia; and if compared with the contemporary works of the Veronese Pisanello, the brothers Antonio and Bartolommeo Vivarini and A. Mantegna, or of the Florentines B. Angelico, Masaccio, and Fra Filippo Lippi, the paintings of this Boccati would hardly be worth noticing.

At last, about the middle of the 15th century, a few artists emerge at Perugia too, namely, *Angelo di Baldassare* and his son *Lodovico di Angelo*; ¹ *Benedetto di Bonfiglio* (born about 1425, made his will in 1496), and *Bartolommeo Caporale*.²

Thus at Perugia, about the middle of the 15th century, we find three families of painters, who, like the Bicci at Florence, the Vivarini at Murano, the Badili at Verona, &c., undertook to do all that was necessary for the ornamentation of an altar. The first of these families is represented by Bonfiglio, and later by his son Benedetto; the second by Baldassare, Angelo di Baldassare, and Lodovico di Angelo; the third by the Caporali.

¹ By this latter is a picture signed with his name in Perugia Cathedral; by the former a "Pietà" between the Saints Leonard and Jerome, of 1459, at St. Peter's in the same town. Passavant ascribes this last picture to Angelo's fellow-townsmen Bonfigli, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to his son Lodovico.

² By this painter, an uncle of the translator of Vitruvius, there is a work at the church of Castiglione del Lago (L. Trasimeno).

In the studio of one or another of the above-named artist-families, *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo* seems to have learned the first rudiments of Art. On the whole, it is of very little consequence to know whether it was this or the other inferior painter that first put the brush in a pupil's hand; he alone can be considered his true teacher who first initiated him into the secret of his art, and gave a direction to his mind. And for this service *Fiorenzo* could hardly have any one to thank but *Benozzo Gozzoli*. Even *Baron Rumohr* seems to incline to this opinion. ("It. Researches," ii. 321). *Fiorenzo* died at an advanced age in the year 1520.¹ He must have been born about 1440-1445, as he was already a Decemvir in the year 1472 (*Mariotti*, p. 31). Among the most pleasing creations of the master stands, I think, that series of eight pictures in which he represents with vivacity, grace, and rich imagination some events in the life of *St. Bernardino of Siena*. One of these panels bears the date 1473. These pictures used to be ascribed by art-historians to the Veronese *Vittore Pisano*, called *Pisanello*,² who died in the fifties of that century; and as many connoisseurs still deny to *Fiorenzo* not only these eight, but also the "Adoration of the Kings" in the same gallery, my readers will perhaps allow me to point out here briefly the characteristic outward signs by which the works of *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo* can be easily recognised. The ear is mostly pointed like a

¹ His widow married in the same year a certain painter, *Giacomo* of *Città della Pieve*, a pupil of *Perugino*.

² By others they are even ascribed to *Mantegna*; Messrs. *Crowe* and *Cavalaselle* (iii. 151), who regard *Fiorenzo* as a pupil of *Bonfigli*, see in these pictures (Nos. 209—214 and 228, 233, 234) first the influence of *Bonfigli*, then that of *Matteo da Siena*, and, again, of *Pier della Francesca*, and even of the Veronese *Liberale*.

faun's, the thumb as well as the great toe almost always convulsively turned upwards, the point of the nose somewhat swollen and the light on its bridge strongly marked; his folds are sinuous, the light and shade on them sharply edged; the sleeves at the bend of the elbow densely cross-puckered. Fiorenzo's drawing is always vigorous and sure, but he is apt to make the upper part of the body too long. His landscapes recall those of Gozzoli; they are finely constructed, with exquisite feeling, and enlivened by rivers and towns; the clouds in them are very characteristic from their sharply-illuminated edges. These peculiar outward marks of Fiorenzo may be verified in more than a dozen pictures at the Perugia Town-gallery, as also in the "Adoration of the Magi," No. 39;¹ and in this last picture the type of the infant Christ is quite the same as that which we find in the polyptych, No. 13 of the same collection. It is a very rare thing to come across a work of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo outside the liberties of Perugia.² In Germany, the gallery of the Städel Institute at Frankfort possesses a very fine work of this master, No. 15, a small picture representing the Virgin and Child with Saints.

¹ This picture has been variously described: by Vasari as being a work of Perugino, to which Rumohr added that it must belong to Pietro's early period; the present director of the gallery designates Domenico Ghirlandajo as the author. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, see in it, with greater knowledge as I think, the hand and mind of Fiorenzo (iii. 158).

² In the "Adoration of the Three Kings," at the Palazzo Pitti at Florence (No. 341), I believe I recognise with certainty the style of Fiorenzo. This little picture, painted for the family Vitelli of Città di Castello, is ascribed in Florence to Pinturicchio. A study of the kneeling king is to be found in the Uffizi, designated a *Lor. di Credi*; photograph by Philpot, No. 744. A drawing by Perugino, now in the collection of Mr. Malcolm, must have served as a model for this figure.

Between the works of Fiorenzo and those of the early period of *Bernardino Betti*, called *il Pinturicchio*, more correctly *Pintoriccio* and *Pintoricchio* (the little painter), I find a very close affinity.¹ Such a work, unless I altogether deceive myself, is to be found in Room I. of the Borghese Gallery at Rome, there ascribed to Carlo Crivelli. The picture represents the Crucified, between St. Jerome and St. Christopher, with a landscape background. As in many early pictures of *Pinturicchio*, the flesh-colour of the Christopher is very brown; the too-elongated body of the Crucified recalls the master *Fiorenzo*; so does the type of the Infant Christ. Here, in the bent forefinger of St. Christopher, we already find a gesture that afterwards got to be conventional in *Pinturicchio*. No doubt, after *Perugino's* return from Florence in 1470, *Pinturicchio* was strongly influenced by that master too,² so that at a certain epoch works of the latter were ascribed to the former.

In the excellent Reliquary (132*a*) so characteristic of the master, the Berlin Gallery likewise possesses a work of *Pinturicchio's* early period, probably painted before he went to Rome. In the same period, or soon after, he must have painted the charming altar-piece in the Sanseverino cathedral (Mary with the Child between two angels and the Donor), of which the historians of Italian painting give us a facsimile (iii. 272).

¹ Baron Rumohr (ii., 324) finds a master for *Pinturicchio* in his much-praised Niccolò Alunno of Foligno. I see no reason for sending the Perugian *Pinturicchio* to Foligno, to seek there what he could have much better at home, and at first hand.

² Those buncy folds, heavy as in statuary, which we find in *Verrocchio's* group of "St. Thomas and Christ," in Or San Michele at Florence, appear to have been brought home by *Perugino* about 1471, and imparted by him to his pupil *Pinturicchio* amongst others.

In the year 1479, therefore in his twenty-fifth year, Bernardino came for the first time to the Eternal City, where he appears to have been at once honoured with commissions from Cardinal della Rovere (Vasari, v. 268). A few years later, about 1483-1485, Pinturicchio by commission from the same Della Rovere decorated with wall-paintings the first chapel on the right in S. Maria del Popolo at Rome; and it was perhaps not many years later that he executed his beautiful frescoes, full of mind and life, in the Bufalini chapel at the church of Ara Coeli.¹ Even in these later paintings there is much that reminds one of Fiorenzo (*e.g.*, the "Investiture of S. Bernardino"); and also of Perugino, *e.g.*, the background with a temple in the middle, in the picture of the "Laying-out of S. Bernardino." Then, in the centre-piece, how glorious the landscape with the steep tunnelled rocks, the cypresses and palms! Here Pinturicchio shows himself a landscape-painter of the first rank, and as such he must have been generally regarded at Rome, for he was commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII. to adorn several halls in the Vatican with landscapes (Vasari, v. 268-9).

It was just these poetical landscape-backgrounds that first opened my eyes when looking at the two great wall-paintings of the Sixtine Chapel, and gave me to recognise their real author. Of these celebrated frescoes, painted in the years 1480-84, under the auspices of his elder friend and former master P. Perugino, one represents the "Baptism of Christ;" the other, facing it, has on one side Moses receiving the angel's command to circumcise his son, and on the other Zipporah having the command

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to place this work of Pinturicchio about the year 1496 (iii. 267).

executed by one of her women; in the background are other episodes in the "Journey of Moses." The first of these frescoes, the "Baptism of Christ," has been ascribed by all art-historians since Vasari to P. Perugino, while the "Journey of Moses" has for some centuries been given to Luca Signorelli (see Manni's *Life of Luca Signorelli* in the "*Raccolta Milanese di vari opuscoli*," vol. i., f. 29, &c.). Modern writers, better informed, and among them the ablest of their number, Jacob Burckhardt of Basle, have justly disputed Signorelli's claim to the fresco, and assigned it to P. Perugino. At last Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle went a step further by recognising in both paintings—this and the "Baptism of Christ"—not only the hand of Perugino, but that of *Don Bartolommeo della Gatta*, and what gives me the liveliest satisfaction, even that of *Pinturicchio*, though I am sorry to say they still follow the old track in regarding the last-named artist as a mere under-strapper of Perugino (iii. 178, 179, 183).¹

Vasari, in his life of P. Perugino, tells us in a rather confused way, that that artist executed the following paintings in the Sixtine Chapel: the "Granting of the Keys," and that conjointly with Don Bartolommeo della Gatta; the "Nativity;" the "Baptism of Christ;" the "Finding of Moses;" and as centre-piece the "Assump-

¹ The only work of Perugino's now left in the Cappella Sistina is, I believe, the "Granting of the Keys to Peter," and in this magnificent and really mature picture I can nowhere detect a strange hand. The co-operation of Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, if it ever existed, may have been in one of the lost wall-paintings of Perugino. On the other hand, in his fellow-student Signorelli's fresco of "Moses Reading his Last Will to the Israelites, and then giving them his Blessing," I think Don Bartolommeo may have had a share. Vasari very likely was confounding Signorelli with Perugino.

tion of Mary," in which last he introduced a likeness of Pope Sixtus IV. Three of these frescoes, namely, the "Nativity," the "Finding of Moses," and the great centre-piece with the "Assumption of Mary," had to make room afterwards for the "Last Judgment" of Michelangelo. Thus, of the five pictures in this chapel that Vasari assigned to Perugino, there remained only the "Granting of the Keys" and the "Baptism of Christ." Of the other fresco, the "Journey of Moses," which later critics likewise handed over to Perugino, Vasari says not a word.

Before subjecting these two frescoes to a minute examination, we have to remark, that being in the immediate vicinity of the altar, they were more exposed than any other picture in the chapel to the injurious effects of the smoke both of incense and of tapers. Hence, they had to undergo repeated cleanings and restorations, so that in their present state but little of their original colouring can be seen.

Now in both these pictures the composition suffers from overcrowding—a fault that Pinturicchio *very often* commits, Perugino *hardly ever*. If we look, first of all, at the landscape background of both pictures, we must at once confess that those steep masses of rock, those cypresses and palms, that beautifully shaped hollow of the valley, and even the falcon in the air pursuing smaller birds,¹ are more in the style of Pinturicchio's landscapes than of Perugino's. In the "Journey of Moses," the

¹ The same combination is repeated by Pinturicchio in two of his frescoes at the Libreria of Siena Cathedral, namely, that of Pius at Ancona preaching the crusade against the Turks, and that of the Emperor crowning Aeneas Silvius with a laurel-wreath; also in the "Adoration of the Kings," of the year 1513, in the Casa Borromeo at Milan, and in some pictures of the Appartamento Borgia.

angel in the centre has an action quite after the fashion of Pinturicchio; and the children (though Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle fancy they see in them very plainly the hand of Bartolommeo della Gatta, iii. 178), are exactly like other children by Pinturicchio, for instance, those in the Chapel of S. Bernardino in the Church of Ara Coeli,¹ contrasting very favourably with Perugino's unshapely infants with a paunch like a leather bottle. Then the woman that kneels before Zipporah, ready with a stone to perform the operation on the child, has the character of Pinturicchio so distinctly stamped upon her face and figure, and the fine head of a man near her, with black hair and a red cap, is so strongly suggestive of the same master, that I am perfectly amazed to have been the first to see in this picture the hand of Pinturicchio and not of Perugino.

If now we examine carefully the picture that faces it, the "Baptism of Christ" and fix our attention first of all on the two old bearded countenances at the extreme right of the picture, both speak loudly for Pinturicchio. The angels too, and the youth near them dressed in gold-brocade, have altogether the type of Bernardino Betti, and not of Vannucci, to say nothing of the naked long-legged figures of youths in the centre. The heads in this picture are all full of intelligence and life, but we miss in them that finer, deeper conception and treatment by which the heads in Perugino's "Granting of the Keys" excite our admiration.

To my eyes, therefore, these two wall-paintings, the

¹ These children strongly resemble even those in the Libreria at Siena, painted by Pinturicchio twenty years later; for instance, in the fresco where Pius II. gives his blessing, and that in which the Emperor Frederic III. crowns the kneeling Aeneas Silvius. And the "putti" in the Sala della Virtù of the Appartamento Borgia are almost the same.

"Baptism of Christ" and the "Journey of Moses," are works of Pinturicchio and not of Perugino, although I willingly admit that for some of his pictures the younger master (like Raphael in his youthful days) occasionally used the drawings of his friend and master Perugino, and thus he may have introduced here and there a Peruginesque figure in these paintings.¹ But the composition and pictorial execution belong, in my opinion, to him, the despised Pinturicchio, and no other.

Vasari, be it in pure wantonness, or for the purpose of setting Perugino in a better light, because *he* had come to *Tuscany* to complete his studies, treats Pinturicchio with the most outrageous injustice. Of these, his two wall-paintings in the Sistina, he hands one over to Pietro Perugino, and maintains a total silence about the other. And while he never objects to Botticelli and other contemporaries using plenty of gold in their paintings, such being then the fashion, he finds this custom stupid in Pinturicchio, and only practised to gain the applause of the ignorant multitude.

¹ In the "Baptism of Christ," for instance, Pinturicchio seems to have borrowed the figures, both of the Baptist and of the Saviour, from Perugino's pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre (No. 297 in Braun's catalogue). Set this drawing of Pietro's by the side of those in the Venetian collection, and you can hardly fail to see the difference, not only in forms, but even in the handling of the pen. Notice, however, that Pinturicchio has introduced many alterations in his painting. The cloth about the loins of Christ is quite differently placed from what it is in the drawing, and the same thing applies to the arrangement of the hair. The pose and expression of the Baptist's head, the action of his right arm, the position of the mantle on his left arm, the attitude of his left foot, &c., are to my mind improvements on those in the drawing. We may suppose, therefore, that Pietro had made his pen-and-ink drawing as a study for one of his own earlier pictures, and then left it to his friend and pupil Pinturicchio for his wall-painting in the Sixtina. In those days giving and taking was a universal practice among the members of a guild.

Then, for his frescoes at the Libreria of Siena cathedral, Vasari makes the approved artist of fifty years have sketches and even cartoons made him by Raphael, then a youth of twenty (Vasari, v. 205). This harsh judgment of the Aretine has now been repeated, like a litany, for more than three centuries by a long and ever-increasing procession of art-critics.¹ I do not wish to acquit Pinturicchio of everything; I know too well that self-interest and greed sometimes made him licentious and unprincipled; but was not this the case also with Pietro Perugino and other celebrated painters? My purpose in this long, much too long discussion, was simply this: to reinstate an artist, who in his younger years created so many fine works, into the same prominent place that he held during his lifetime,² by giving him back his best property, of which he has been robbed by the disfavour and blindness of posterity. It was not enough that his works at Rome should have been ascribed partly to Signorelli and partly to Perugino, but even his drawings at Florence, Paris, Oxford, and Vienna, &c., are praised to the sky by old and young as admirable effusions of the divine Raphael, and quoted by art-critics everywhere as models of the exquisite and sublime in art.

As a caution to students who devote themselves to art researches, I will here relate very briefly how these drawings in the Venetian Academy came to have the high

¹ Rumohr, indeed, who, when the whim seized him, searched with more independence and less prejudice than others, may be indicated here as in some respects an exception. See ii. 330-333, what he says on Pinturicchio.

² In the year 1501, Pinturicchio was elected Decemvir of Perugia in the place of Pietro Perugino, one more proof that he stood in high repute among his fellow citizens.

honour bestowed upon them of passing for early works of Raphael and exciting the admiration of the civilized world.

The talented painter Giuseppe Bossi, Professor at the Brera Academy of Milan, now dead since half a century, wrote one day in his note-book the following event:—“Yesterday I may well say I received a greeting from Fortune.¹ A good while ago I had made Giocondo Albertolli promise to let me see certain drawings in the possession of a Parmese lady. At last the longed-for day arrived, and I found, beside Albertolli, the painter Mazzola, both commissioned by the lady to effect the sale of the said drawings. There were fifty-three leaves, all of about a span long and somewhat less in width. I at once recognised the hand, but ran over the pages very hurriedly, &c. . . . and at last offered 100 scudi of Milan (about 400 fr.), with which the proprietress declared herself quite satisfied. On going home with my little treasure, I find, after carefully examining the pages, that not only some of them were designed by the divine hand

¹ Jeri posso dire d'avere avuto un saluto della Fortuna. Da tanto tempo io aveva impegnato Giocondo Albertolli a farmi noti certi disegni posseduti da parmigiana. Ma questa era malata, o egli era impedito Finalmente jeri sono avvisato, che, se mi fossi recato dall' Albertolli, avrei visto i disegni tanto desiderati. Ci vado e trovo il pittore Mazzola con lui, incaricati entrambi di conchiudere meco la vendita di questi disegni, che mi mostrano un piccolo fascio di 53 carte, alte circa un palmo e larghe meno. Jo li conosco, ma li scorro impazientemente ecc. ecc., e fù mandato ad offerirne alla proprietaria cento scudi di Milano, ed essa ne fù contentissima. Sono tornato a casa col mio tesoretto, e scorrendo attentamente queste carte, non solo mi confermo nella opinione che alcune di esse erano disegnate dalla divina mano di Raffaello, ma le riconosco tutte di una egualissima misura, come quelle che facevano insieme un libro, e tutte di mano sua, eccetto tre o quattro sporcate da mano posteriore.

Questo libretto logorato per essere stato portato lungamente alla

of Raphael, but that they are all of the same size, and therefore must have formed a little book together, and that they are all from his hand with the exception of some three or four, &c. This little book, much worn by having been long carried about, either at the girdle or in the pocket, contains a little of everything, and comes down to the year 1505, that is, a year after the completion of his work for Città di Castello (the Sposalizio), which is now at the Royal Gallery of the Brera. It must have been begun much earlier, and it is very interesting to observe therein the studies he has made after Perugino, Pollajuolo, Leonardo, and others. Then there are wonderful women and children, studies of folding, and from models, heads of old men, &c.; all, things that breathe that grace, that love, that certain something which cannot be expressed, which penetrates our souls, and which belongs almost exclusively to that angel in art, who never fatigues our mind, and who affords us nothing but sweet enjoy-

cintola o nelle tasche, contiene un pò di tutto e giunge, a mio parere, fino al 1505, cioè un' anno dopo l'opera di Città di Castello, che è ora nella Galleria Reale di Brera. Deve essere stato cominciato molto prima, ed è bello l'osservarvi degli studi sopra opere del Perugino, del Pollajuolo, di Leonardo, e d'altri. Vi sono poi donne e putti mirabili, figure panneggiate, teste di vecchi, accademie ecc.,—cose tutte che spirano quel garbo, quell'amore, quel non so che che penetra nell'animo, che appartiene quasi esclusivamente a quest' angelo della pittura, che non ci dà peso alcuno al pensiero ed alla mente, e che solo vi fa dolcemente godere ecc.

Ho scorso nuovamente il mirabile libretto di Raffaello, e scorrendolo parmi seguir l'autore ne suoi studj. Vi sono molte figure infine che gli hanno servito pei cartoni che fece pel Pinturicchio in Siena.

Vi si vede uno studio delle Grazie di marmo antiche che fino da quel tempo furono poste in quella famosa sagrestia. Vi sono studj di teste pel quadro dello Sposalizio.

(See Memorie inedite di Giuseppe Bossi, pubblicate nell' Archivio storico Lombardo, Anno V., fascicolo II., 30 Giugno, 1878.)

ment. I have lately gone over again that wonderful book of Raphael's, and it seemed to me as if I were following the author in his studies. There are, in fact, many figures that he must have used in the cartoons he made for Pinturicchio at Siena. There is also a study from the antique marble group of the Graces, which therefore at that date was already set up in that famous sacristy. We find here also studies of heads for the picture of *The Marriage of Mary* (in the Brera)." This last—and not this alone—was simply an optical illusion on the part of the sanguine possessor of the so-called Raphael drawings.

Ever since this dictum of Bossi, the drawings at Venice have passed and do pass for works of Raphael. Bossi's entire collection, rich in excellent drawings by Leonardo, Cesare da Sesto, Luini, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Giambellino, and other masters, was bought up after his death by the Austrian Government, at the instigation of Cicognara, for the Academy at Venice. Count Leopold Cicognara might justly boast of having preserved for his country that collection, splendid of its kind, and enriched Venice with it.¹ Here then we have two known connoisseurs of drawings, the Italians Bossi and Cicognara, who unreservedly assign

¹ In a letter of the 27th of May, 1827, Cicognara writes to his friend the Marchese Gino Capponi, of Florence, who died not long ago:—"E quando morì il pittore Bossi in Milano, ebbi cura che la squisita collezione dei disegni originali di tutte le antiche scuole venisse posta in sicuro dall' emigrar dall' Italia, e tutta la acquistai per questa Accademia di Venezia; ove primeggiano tra molte preziosità 70 disegni originali di Leonardo, et 100 di Raffaello."

In my opinion the collection contains only twenty-two genuine drawings of Leonardo (of which seventeen are exhibited, and five preserved in the library of the Academy); and of Raphael only *two* drawings, as we shall see further on. See Tabarrini's "*Memorie di Gino Capponi*," p. 205.

the pen-and-ink drawings at Venice to the divine Raphael.

They were joined at length by a third renowned connoisseur, and moreover a specialist for Raphael's works, the celebrated Passavant, who describes and discusses each of these drawings in his work, "*Raffael d'Urbino*," &c. (French translation from the German original).

The fourth authority, who last of all submitted these so-called Raphael-drawings one after the other and very minutely to a critical and æsthetical examination, was the Marchese Pietro Selvatico Estense of Padua, in his "*Catalogo delle opere d'arte contenute nella Sala delle sedute dell' I. R. Accademia di Venezia*," which appeared in the year 1854.

The judgment of these four Raphael authorities was enough, as may be easily imagined, to secure for all time the fame of the Raphael drawings at Venice.

The whole series of these "Raphael" drawings in the Venice Academy are quoted and criticized one by one in Passavant (ii. 409-416); and again by Marchese Pietro Selvatico in his catalogue. Antonio Perini at Venice has photographed nearly every sheet, and marked them with continuous numbers. Therefore, in discussing a few of these drawings, I shall give the numbers of their photographs as well, so that those of my readers who take an interest in such investigations, and wish to get at the truth of the matter, may be able to procure these for themselves. Perini's photos are sold at only 50 centimes a-piece.

¹ To help students to appreciate the difference between the so-called Raphael-drawings at Venice and genuine pen-and-ink sketches of Raphael's early period, I will name a few such drawings that date from his Peruginesque period :—

1. The earliest of these drawings I consider to be that which represents an Old Man kneeling, with folded hands. [No. 72 in Passavant, who remarks upon it: "Probably from an older picture." Selvatico, frame 27, 5: "beautiful head, the folding very finely marked." Perini, No. 65.] The shape of the ear still pointed like that of a faun, reminding us of Pinturicchio's first master, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo; the lobe hardly as yet distinct from the rest of the ear. The hands carefully drawn from nature.

2. St. Andrew. [No. 13 in Passavant. Selvatico, frame 16, 1: "The drawing shows great mastery of form, and recalls the style of Pinturicchio." Perini, No. 44.] The apostle's right hand reminds one still of the master Fiorenzo, the ear-lobe is strongly marked, and of that round and rather heavy shape so characteristic of Pinturicchio's ears. Very carefully executed drawing, of the master's early time. Of Raphael's manner not a trace, nor yet of Perugino's.

3. Young Woman kneeling, with folded hands. [Passavant, No. 8: "in the manner of Perugino." Selvatico, frame 23, 7: "of the utmost delicacy, a study for the figure of St. Mary in Perugino's celebrated picture at S. Francesco's in Perugia." Perini, No. 7.] This consummate drawing is in my opinion the finished study for the Virgin of the "Præsepium with St. Jerome,"—the altar-

(a) Madonna and Child. Oxford Collection. No. 10 in Braun's Catalogue.

(b) Angel's Head and Hand. British Museum. Braun, No. 70.

(c) Presentation in the Temple. Oxford Collection. Braun, No. 5.

(d) The Annunciation. Louvre Collection. Braun, 266.

(e) Head of St. Thomas. Braun, 58.

(f) British Museum. Braun, 70.

(g) Madonna and Child, Albertina. Braun, 146.

(h) Studies from Life. Oxford. Robinson's Catalogue, 14.

piece of the first chapel to the right, in S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Pinturicchio, who may perhaps have borrowed the leading idea from Perugino, painted this picture along with his cycle of frescoes on commission from his patron Cardinal della Rovere in 1483. We have here already the same type of hand, with the long bony fingers, that we again find in the beautiful Madonna of his splendid picture at the Town Gallery of Perugia.¹ The sharp pointed strokes of the pen too are his all over; and the stair-like gradation of the folds on both sides of the mantle are characteristic of him.

4. An erect lion. [Passavant, No. 40: "pupils' work." Selvatico, frame 26, 12: "of little merit." Perini, No. 55.] This very childish lion, with its body much too long, is the study for the lion that Pinturicchio has put by the side of St. Jerome in a side-lunette of the above-named first chapel of S. Maria del Popolo (in 1483).

5. The standing figure of a Youth with long hair, his right hand on his breast. Divided into squares. [Passavant, No. 4: "seems to be the Apostle John." Selvatico, frame 23, 8: "Study of St. John at the foot of the Cross. Very elegant and expressive figure, whose simplicity is at most a little spoilt by too close an imitation of Perugino's inelegant folds." Perini, No. 8.] This elegant and noble figure of a youth is probably nothing else than a study executed by Pinturicchio for his master after a hasty sketch of Perugino's own for the Apostle John, in his fresco of "The Commission to Peter." This pen-and-

¹ Painted by Pinturicchio in the year 1495. (See Rumohr, as above, ii. 331). Brought to the Gallery from the Church of S. Anna (No. 30). Above, a "Pietà." The angel on the left reminds one strongly of that angel by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo whom we perceive to the right of Mary in his painting No. 29 at the same place.

ink drawing, with its elaborate folds in the mantle, is divided into equal squares, and seems therefore to have been destined to be transferred to the cartoon on a larger scale.¹ Compare this drawing of Pinturicchio with Perugino's painted figure, and you perceive at once the difference there was in conception and feeling between the two masters.

6. A standing Male Figure with long hair, seen from the back. [Passavant, No. 7: "a similar figure in inverted position may be seen in the frescoes of the Libreria at Siena." Selvatico, frame 23, 9: "beautiful movement, excellent drawing, masterly foldings." Perini, No. 9.] This squared drawing represents the apostle who stands behind St. John in the fresco of the "Investiture with the Keys." The same remark applies to it as to the preceding one. The figure, though here with a turban on its head, is utilized by Pinturicchio in the middle ground of his fresco, "The Journey of Moses."

7. Two standing Male Figures with long hair, the one on the right apparently pointing at something with its right hand. Squared pen-and-ink drawing. [Passavant, No. 1: "a copy of this drawing by Timoteo Viti (!!) is to be found at Paris in Mr. Reiset's collection of drawings." Selvatico, frame 24, 5: "correct in the drawing, but hard and symmetrical, in the manner of Perugino." Perini, No. 21.] This "squared" pen-and-ink drawing is a preparatory sketch by Pinturicchio for Perugino's cartoon to his wall-painting, the "Investiture with the Keys." Of the two figures, however, Pietro has left out the one to the left, and filled the space with two portraits, the one

¹ See Vasari, Lemonnier Edition, x. 89.

only a half, the other a whole-length figure. In the wall-painting these three figures are on the extreme left of the spectator.¹

This circumstance of itself, I think, excludes the alleged co-operation of Don Bartolommeo della Gatta in Perugino's fresco. The composition is entirely Perugino's own, though he entrusted the designing of the folds on a smaller scale to his friend and former pupil Pinturicchio; both the cartoon and the wall-painting itself are wholly executed by the hand of Pietro.

8. A Woman kneeling with out-stretched arms; seen in profile. [Passavant, No. 42: "appears to be a Madonna in the act of lifting the veil off the Infant Christ." Selvatico, frame 14, 2: "the Archangel Raphael presenting the Virgin with the lily; very fine drawing; here all the grace and correctness of the Urbinate come out in their full light." Perini, No. 187.] This pen-and-ink drawing is a study of the kneeling woman who performs the operation on the little son of Moses, in the fresco "The Journey of Moses." In the painting the foot, which is here visible, is covered by the dress. Now if these "Raphael" drawings at Venice were really by Raphael, he must have painted this figure, like several others in the collection, about the year 1481, and therefore two years before his birth. On another page we find a study of drapery for the figure of Zipporah. Thereupon Selvatico, frame 23, 10, remarks: "the folds are good, and laid on with much intelligence, but betraying too much the manner of Perugino." Perini, No. 10.

¹ But in the background of his painting, Perugino, who was not overstocked with ideas, has introduced *both* the figures of the drawing.

9. A Woman seated, with folded hands, and looking upwards; in profile. [Passavant, No. 2. Selvatico, frame 14, 3; "Mary Magdalen on Mount Calvary; of a somewhat dry but pure style. The correct lay of the folds shows that in this drawing Raphael was approaching his second manner." Perini, No. 19.] Pinturicchio's study of the sitting woman in the "Baptism of Christ;" with one child at her right, and another standing upright on her knee, she listens to the Saviour's discourse. (In the middle distance, to the left of the spectator.)

9^a. An undraped Youth, with the left arm outstretched. [Passavant, No. 22: "has the attitude of the young king in the 'Adoration of the Kings.'" Selvatico, frame 23, 16: "feeble drawing, seems copied from a figure by Signorelli in Orvieto Cathedral."] This study from nature served Pinturicchio for two of the undraped figures whom we see in his "Baptism of Christ," to the left behind the Christ.

9^b. Arabesque for the decoration of pilasters. Lightly drawn with the pen. [Selvatico, frame 27, 17. Perini, No. 78.] Study for the decoration of a space in the ceiling of the choir of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Compare also the similar decorations by Pinturicchio in his fresco paintings at Siena and at Spello.

10. Head of a Young Man in a painter's cap, in two different postures; first looking straight at you, then resting on the right hand and looking up. Near this last head, on the left of the page, we read the words "L. paro." [Passavant, No. 48: "very ingenious drawing." Selvatico, frame 17, 27: "two heads drawn with much knowledge." Perini, No. 85.] The letters of the word *paro* do not agree with the characteristics of Raphael's handwriting. The latter for instance forms the letter *p* with a hook at the

bottom, *p*, while Pinturicchio's is formed much the same way as the *p* in this *paro*.

11. Four Women's heads; three of them seen in front, the fourth in profile. [Passavant, No. 60. Selvatico, frame 13, 6: "Splendid drawing, giving another proof of the grace and originality that Sanzio could give to female



head-attire." Perini, No. 6.] These are probably the female heads in which the enthusiastic possessor, Bossi, fancied he saw Raphael's studies for his "Sposalizio" in the Brera Gallery. Three of these fine female heads are studies for Pinturicchio's wall-painting, "The Journey of Moses." Of the two upper heads, we find the one to the left of the spectator used for that woman who follows the

procession with a pitcher of water on her head at the extreme left of the fresco; there is but a slight change in the position of her head. Of the two lower heads, the one on the left served as a study for Zipporah, who, with her right hand, leads her little son; it is the one here reproduced. The other, to the right, was used for the seated Zipporah in the picture holding the child on her knee.

12. Three Female Heads. [Passavant, No. 59. Selvatico, frame 15, 2: "In these heads one discerns the whole store of grace that lay in the soul of Sanzio. It is impossible to conceive more lovely heads, or to adorn them with more taste." Perini, No. 26.] Of these studies of female heads the same may be said as of the preceding ones.

13. Three Male Heads in profile. [Passavant, No. 83: "Two of them caricatures, in the manner of Leonardo, perhaps even taken from that master; the third head, a study for the shepherd in the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' in the Vatican (!), of the year 1503." Selvatico, frame 34, 2: "Pen-sketches of little value." Perini, No. 87.]

A comparison of this drawing by Pinturicchio with another by Raphael in the Oxford Collection, bearing No. 15 in Braun's catalogue, may bring my young friends more quickly and effectually to understand the difference between Pinturicchio and the Urbinate than any written expositions. Both masters have here reproduced the same male head from Leonardo, besides which Pinturicchio has, on the same page, two other male heads after Leonardo. This drawing must date from the year 1505 or 1506.

Not to fatigue my readers overmuch with this tedious, but, for my argument, very necessary review of the so-called "Raphael drawings" at Venice, I shall break off here, only remarking that undoubtedly there are in that

collection some genuine *Raphael* drawings too, which, however, are not specially extolled by either Passavant or Selvatico. Both these gentlemen have failed to perceive the vast difference between the *two* drawings of the Urbinate and all the other drawings—a difference that must surely be obvious to any eye, well acquainted with Raphael's manner. Both of these beautiful pen-drawings are probably sketches for feigned bas-reliefs in his "*Scuola d'Atene*," and therefore belong to the years 1509—1510, numbered 67 and 82 in Perini's catalogue. Passavant describes and criticizes them as follows: "No. 34, three naked figures, the one to the left bearing a banner; the two others to the right defend themselves with coats of mail and lances against an attacking horseman. Very spirited and ingenious sketch." Selvatico (frame 17, 6, and 22) only remarks, "very lively sketch," and on No. 22, "very firm drawing, displaying the broadest manner of Raphael."

Besides these two sketches of Raphael, we find in the collection of drawings at Venice two by *Antonio del Pollajuolo*; they are what are called drawings from the model (*accademie*), slightly washed with Indian ink, but both have been touched up, and therefore spoilt. It seems almost incredible that Passavant takes them (No. 25 and 26) for drawings by Raphael, and calmly describes them as such in his catalogue of Raphael drawings in the Venice collection. One of these spoilt Pollajuolo drawings represents an undraped man standing, and leaning his right arm on a cornice; the other, an old man, likewise undraped, seated, and holding a ball in his left hand, while his right arm is stretched out.

Besides these four drawings belonging to two different masters, namely, Raphael and Pollajuolo, we find among

the drawings by Pinturicchio, two, that are imitations from the celebrated engraving by Mantegna, "Il Deposto di Croce;" and several from which it appears that Pinturicchio at a later time took Luca Signorelli for his exemplar; also some that are copies from drawings by Malozzo da Forli, &c.

I think I have sufficiently proved that the majority of the beautiful pen-and-ink drawings at Venice, first declared by the late Professor Bossi to be from the hand of Raphael—a preconceived opinion, which has since been ratified and sealed by Raphaelists in every part of the world—belong of right to no other than poor, unappreciated *Bernardino Pinturicchio*. Most of these drawings relate to works which were executed, some by him, and some (the studies of drapery) by P. Perugino, at Rome,¹ in 1480 to 1482. Others, again, as the copies from Perugino's drawings, the imitations from L. Signorelli, Andrea Mantegna, Lionardo da Vinci, belong to a later period. The "Flying Angel with the Tambourine,"¹ for instance, is of Pinturicchio's Sienese time (1503-6), and wholly agrees in treatment with his magnificent drawing, washed with Indian ink, of "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini setting out to the Council of Basle," at the Uffizi Gallery, where it is still ascribed to Raphael by the careless directors of that collection.

Further, we may infer from what has been said, that the volume of drawings purchased by the late Professor Giuseppe Bossi could not have been the painter's *sketch-book*, but was merely an *album*, in which the collector inserted two drawings by Raphael, some of Antonio del

¹ No. 20 in Passavant's catalogue; and in Selvatico, frame 24, 4, with the observation, "belongs to Sanzio's noblest period."

Pollajualo, and some indifferent ones from the Perugian School, in addition to the set of Pinturicchio's drawings, which last he most probably had found together, and which may originally have belonged to a note-book of Pinturicchio.

If I may assume to have awakened in the minds of my few readers some little doubt as to the correct naming of the " Raphael drawings " at Venice, it would, on the other hand, be but a fond illusion, were I to indulge the pleasing hope of having convinced my young friends that the two magnificent wall-paintings in the Sixtine Chapel are not the work of Perugino, but of Pinturicchio. I know by experience the power and persistence of preconceived notions, and am well aware that when driven out at the door they fly in, at the window. Besides, I am not so much concerned about the success of this my second argument as I am about the first. It is, after all, but a secondary question in art-history, whether a work of art belongs to the one or to the other of two equally-matched Perugian painters, like Vannucci and Betti; whereas I feel it is something like heresy to confound Raphael, that noblest, completest, loveliest apparition amongst all the artists of modern times, even in the first steps of his famous career, with masters who, excellent as they may be in their own way, were only transiently and in outward school-relations connected with him.

And now, enough of Pinturicchio. If, in representing serious religious subjects, he does not come up to Perugino as regards proportion, finish, and the filling of space; if his forms are not so noble, and the expression of religious sentiment not so deep as in Pietro; yet, on the other hand, Pinturicchio is, to my mind, less conscious, more fresh and racy than Perugino, and does not so often

fatigue us by monotony and that conventional sweetness which, especially in the productions of his last twenty years, makes Pietro positively wearisome. And, as an imaginative landscape-painter, Pinturicchio surpasses almost all of his contemporaries.

Pinturicchio leads us naturally to *Raphael Sanzio*, of whose early period the Berlin collection possesses some valuable works. It appears to me that Raphael is not to be classed with the Florentine School, as the catalogue will have it, though there is no denying that during his repeated residences at Florence he took in impressions from Florentine masters, notably Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo. Nevertheless, from our point of view, he remains, alike in feeling and conception, always an Umbrian.

Arrived at Rome, he founded, in course of time, the "School of Raphael;" but that has no right, any more than the School of Michel Angelo, to be called the Roman School in our sense of the term. I say in our sense; for, to those who look upon Art as an external thing, independent of the peculiarities of the people which utters its mind therein, there may exist even Swiss and Tyrolese Schools of Painting. The catalogue says further, that after Raphael had received his first instruction from his father, that is, down to 1494, he then, upon his death, entered without delay the School of Pietro Perugino.

May I be permitted to clear up this point thoroughly, and that with the bold intention of expounding to my young friends an opinion I have cherished this long while, and which has ripened into clear conviction, through my studying the early works of Raphael and of Timoteo Viti? I know it stands in direct opposition to the accepted doctrine (axiom I might call it) about Raphael's artistic edu-

cation, and I should not have been at all surprised if, emanating from the pen of an "authority," it had given rise to a real scandal among the Raphaelists of civilized Europe. As it is, there is but little danger of a shock to the faith or nerves of the blind believers in tradition.

It is well known that Vasari, in his "Lives of Eminent Artists," together with much that is true and excellent, tells not a little that is false, and even some fables of his own inventing; yet, down to our own day, he has remained the chief source from which writers about Raphael have drawn their facts. On the authority of this Aretine, the art-historians, including laborious Passavant,¹ all more or less make young Raphael, when *eleven* years old—"be presented and commended by his father to Pietro Perugino," as Vasari makes out, which is already some advance—yet still they make him enter the studio of Pietro Vannucci at Perugia in the year 1495, shortly after his

¹ The late Passavant, no doubt, gave the world a very meritorious work on Raphael. But he seems, by the structure of his mind, to have been cut out more for a scholar than an artist. Nor, in spite of his enormous industry and praiseworthy conscientiousness, was he able wholly to enter into the genius of Raphael, and identify himself with his innermost way of feeling and thinking. Hence his meritorious book is already grown obsolete, and can be of no great service to us except as an inventory of Raphael's works.

It seems, on the whole, as difficult for Northerners to enter into the heart of the Italian way of thinking and feeling, as it is for an Italian to fathom the German or Flemish nature. They all penetrate to a certain point of the objective externality, and then try to make up the rest in their own way, that is, subjectively. A striking instance of this is the Dutch, Flemish, and German copies and imitations of Italian works of the 15th and 16th centuries, which in public and private collections delight the people a great deal more than the original paintings would. There are, of course, some brilliant exceptions to this rule, but they are rare.

father's death. "Il est probable, que ce fut en 1495. Le Pérugin était alors à l'apogée de sa gloire."¹

This last statement is quite correct; but it is no less true that in those years, namely, from 1493 to the middle of 1498, Perugino was only at brief and rare intervals a resident in Perugia. He was at Venice in 1494 (see Gaye, ii. 69). In the same year he finished his beautiful picture for the church of St. Augustine of Cremona, probably at Cremona itself. The 6th of March, 1495, Pietro was again at Perugia, and there signed a contract to paint for the monks of Cassino "The Assumption of Mary" (now at Lyons). Of the same year is "The Entombment of Christ," which he executed for the church of S. Chiara at Perugia (Palazzo Pitti, No. 164). In 1496 he painted "The Marriage of Mary" for the cathedral of Perugia (now in the Museum of Caen). In the same year he remained some length of time at Venice, a fact that is confirmed by a document which the present writer had the good fortune to discover in the State archives of Milan.² Its contents are as follows:—

"The painter who was painting in our small rooms has

¹ "Raphael d'Urbino," etc., par T. D. Passavant. Traduction de M. Paul Lacroix, 1860. 2 vols. (i., page 48.)

² "A tergo: (In Christo, patri, (domino reverendissimo)mo Arcimboldo (archiepiscopo) Mediolani, consiliario (ducali) nostro dilectissimo.

"El pittore, quale pingeva li camerini nostri, hogi ha facto certo scandalo per il quale si è absentato, et havendo noi adesso a pensare ad altro pintore per fornire l'opera, et satisfare a quello de che si serviamo cum l'opere di questo chi è absentato, Jntendendo che Magistro Petro Perusino si trova li, ci è parso darvi cura di parlarli, et Jntendere da luy se'l vole venire ad service, cum dirli, che, venendo, li faremo conditione tale ch'el si potrà bene accontentare. Ma in questo bisognerà advertire ch'el non si trovasse obligato a quella Jll^{ma} Signoria, perchè in tale caso non Jntendemo farne parola, anzi se'l fosse qui, lo vorriamo remandare li: Et però risguardarete a questo, et parlando ad

absconded to-day, because of a certain scandal. We are, therefore, obliged to look out for another painter to complete the commenced work, and replace the master who has gone. Hearing that Master Peter Perugino was there (at Venice), it appeared to us advisable to commission you to speak to him and learn whether he is willing to enter our service; and in that case to assure him, that we are ready to offer such terms as would satisfy him. In this transaction, however, we must make sure that he (Perugino) has not entered into liabilities with the Venetian government, for in that case, we should not only take no further steps, but would even send him back if he came. Will you, therefore, bear in mind this latter point, and after consultation with the master (Perugino), let us know his reply, and whether we may cherish the hope of having him here.

“Milan, 8 June, 1496.

“Ludovicus Sforza

“Anglus, Dux Mediolani,” etc.

“B. Chalceus.”

In the autumn of the year 1496 we find the restless master at Florence. “1496, Petrus Christofori, vocatus Perugino de Perusio, habitator in populo S. Petri majoris (a proof that Perugino always stayed a longish time at

epso Magistro ce avvisarete de quello chel ve responderà, et sel vi parerà se possa sperare de haverlo.

“Mediolani VIII. junij 1496.

“Ludovicus Sfortia

“Anglus, Dux Mediolani.” etc.

“B. Chalceus.”

Guidantonio Arcimboldi, mentioned at the beginning of the document, was appointed Archbishop of Milan in 1488, and died in 1497. Moro often employed him on diplomatic missions, though Litta never once mentions this mission to Venice. His son, Niccolò Arcimboldi, died in the year 1513; in 1498 he was confirmed in his feudal possessions of Arcisate by Lodovico il Moro; but in 1499 he took the oath of allegiance to Louis XII. of France.

Florence) emit unum petium (pezzo = piece) terrae aptae ad faciendum unum domum, positum in populo S. Petri majoris." On the 26th of June, 1498, we meet him again at Florence (see Vasari, Ediz. Le Monnier, vi., 68 and 69).

To this period, namely, the interval between the years 1494 and 1498, I ascribe also the magnificent triptych for the Certosa of Pavia, one of the most perfect works of Perugino (now in the National Gallery, London). Whether he executed this painting during his stay in Upper Italy, at Cremona, perhaps in the Certosa itself, or somewhere else, I cannot determine. I was only anxious to observe here that, in my opinion, this work of Perugino's must be of the 15th century, not later.

I know very well that the most celebrated authorities, Rumohr and Passavant, ascribe the Angel with Tobias in this painting to the young Raphael himself, from which it may be inferred that, in the eyes of these gentlemen, the origin of this picture is to be placed some eight or ten years later than I am inclined to suppose. This opinion of theirs, seems to me devoid of all foundation. There are, in England, two fine and carefully-executed drawings for the Tobias with the Angel; one is at Oxford, in the University Galleries, No. 16, ascribed to Raphael, the other is in the British Museum (Braun, 149), where it is ascribed to Perugino. Evidently both drawings are by the hand of this master. I should say the form of the hand¹ alone was a sufficient reason for not assigning this otherwise good and carefully-executed drawing to the Urbinate.

¹ This ugly tong-shaped hand, with the thumb and forefinger nearly touching, is to be met with in other drawings by Perugino (British Museum, Braun, 149); also in many of his paintings: for instance, in that of the Poldi Collection at Milan, in the "Transfiguration of Mary;" in the so-called "Annunziata" at Florence; and in many pictures at

In the year 1497 Pietro must have stayed a considerable time at Fano; he probably executed there on the spot the large altar-piece for the altar of the Duranti family in the church of S. Maria Nuova.

In the following year we meet master Pietro at Perugia again, employed in painting his Madonna and six kneeling brethren (now in the Municipal Gallery of Perugia) for the chapel of the Brotherhood of S. Pietro Martire in the church of S. Domenico.

Lastly, towards the end of the year 1499 and in the beginning of 1500, Pietro Perugino painted the large panel-picture for the church of Vallombrosa (at present in the Academy of Florence). This fine picture—unfortunately, rather spoilt by cleaning—represents the “Transfiguration of Mary, with four Saints standing,” and is signed with the name of the master and dated 1500. During the same visit Perugino may also have painted the two portraits of monks, one representing Don Blasio Milanese, General of the Order of Vallombrosa, the other the Abbot of Vallombrosa, Don Balthasar (likewise in the Florentine Academy). These two fine portraits are in like manner handed over to the young Raphael by several art-critics, and even by Passavant.

With so much wandering about, and at that stage of his activity, it would have been impossible for Perugino to give the regular and continuous instruction required by a boy of twelve, such as Raphael was then. Baron Rumohr, therefore, led by his exquisite taste in Art, had already hazarded the conjecture that young Raphael may, after all,

the Perugia Gallery. Again, in another drawing of Perugino's at Oxford (also ascribed to Raphael by Mr. Robinson, Braun, 6), we meet with the same tong-like form in the left hand of a sleeping watchman, a form characteristic of Perugino, but which never occurs in Raphael.

not have entered the studio of Pietro Perugino till somewhere about 1500.¹ Well, if I am rightly informed, Professor Rossi, of Perugia, has discovered documents proving that Raphael actually did not leave Urbino to settle at Perugia till about the end of 1499, when he entered the studio of Pietro Perugino as an assistant. Credible as this intelligence appears to me, I am not prepared to vouch for its truth. Now arises the question, What had the boy Raphael been doing at Urbino after the death of his father and first instructor?—under what master's guidance had he continued his studies there?

We know from several documents that a warm friendship subsisted between Raphael and Timoteo Viti. From this tender relation between the two artists of Urbino, Vasari draws forthwith the inference that Timoteo must have been the pupil of Raphael. Let us hear the biographer himself:—

“Timoteo si mise arditamente (?) a colorire (namely, at Bologna in the studio of Francia, from 1490 to 1495) pigliando una assai vaga maniera e assai simile a quella del nuovo Apelle, suo compatrioto (then about eleven or twelve years old), ancorchè di mano di lui non avesse veduto se non alcune poche cose in Bologna.”²

¹ “The vague, I might say thoughtless, statements of Vasari need not then exclude the possibility that Raphael, before joining Perugino as an assistant, may have worked some time, say with Andrea di Luigi (Ingegno), as a pupil or assistant.” (Ital. Forsch., iii. 31.) What made Baron Rumohr have recourse to this Ingegno as a master for young Raphael was the foregone conclusion that Raphael did leave Urbino in 1495 and come to Perugia. As for this Ingegno, so called, he always was one of the Baron's hobbies.

² Ediz. Le Monnier, viii. 149. There were, indeed, in the second decade of the 16th century, two works of Raphael's at Bologna, namely, the “St. Cecilia,” painted in 1516 for the altar of S. Cecilia Doglioli at

The only thing that is true in this narrative of Vasari is the “*assai vaga maniera*” of young Timoteo Viti, “*e assai simile a quella*” which was also adopted some years later by his younger countryman, Raphael. Is not this a convincing proof, in the first place, that Raphael’s artistic development was only very superficially known to Vasari; and, secondly, that he too often, as in this case, blinded by some prepossession, forsook the path of historical truth, to lose himself in the mazes of conjecture? He evidently assumed that Raphael must have been the master of Timoteo Viti, whereas chronology alone, might have taught him better, had he paid the slightest attention to it.

Nearly all the art-historians, so called, have very naturally followed Vasari, and down to the present day they regard and represent Timoteo as a scholar and imitator of Raphael. But let us hear the Aretine further on Timoteo:—

“His early works made Timoteo, in a short time, so celebrated that Raphael invited him to Rome, where his stay proved so advantageous, not only for his art, but also for his purse, that in a year’s time he was able to send home a nice sum of money. With his master, he painted the ‘Sibyls’ at the church della Pace, ‘*di sua mano ed invenzione.*’”¹

Yet in his “Life of Raphael” the same Vasari says:—

“Figurò (Raphael) in questa pittura alcuni profeti e *sibille*, che, nel vero, delle sue cose è tenuta la migliore e

the church of St. Giovanni in Monte, and the picture of “God the Father and the Four Evangelists,” executed for Vincenzo Hercolani, some say in 1517, others in 1510. But Timoteo Viti, after serving his apprenticeship, left Bologna in 1495. How could he at that time have seen pictures by Raphael, a lad of twelve?

¹ Vasari, viii. 150 and 151.

fra le tante belle bellissima e questa opera lo fece stimar grandemente vivo e morto, per essere più rara ed eccellente opera che Raffaello facesse in vita sua.”¹

But, adds Vasari, home-sickness drove Timoteo from Rome back to Urbino, where he married soon after his return (about 1519 then, on Vasari's own showing, as the prophets and sibyls in the church of La Pace were painted in 1518); and as his wife subsequently presented him with children, Timoteo would no more leave Urbino, in spite of the repeated invitations of Raphael.² Now, in the whole of this story there is not a word of truth. Pungileoni informs us in his “Elogio storico di Timoteo,” etc., that Timoteo Viti had married already in 1501, that he never left his native town between the years 1501—1510; further, that in 1513 he was chief magistrate of Urbino, and that in 1518 his art was in request at the ducal court of Urbino. Timoteo Viti, moreover, belonged to a well-to-do family at Urbino, was much esteemed there, and in 1518, when Raphael was doing his wall-paintings in the church of S. Maria della Pace, he was close upon fifty, certainly not the age for a prosperous and highly-respected man to leave his home and family, and go to work as a journeyman, or even as assistant to a much younger master, at a wall-painting far from his own fire-side.

In defiance of all these contradictions, as if merely to keep up Vasari's fable, Passavant ascribes to Timoteo, not indeed the “Sibyls,” as Vasari will have it, but the “Prophets” (in S. Maria della Pace). And for what reason? “The wall-painting with the ‘Prophets,’” says he, “is so much weaker than that with the ‘Sibyls,’ that

¹ Vasari, viii. 23.

² Vol. viii. 151 and 152.

doubtless only the cartoons for it can be ascribed to Raphael, while the execution of the painting must have been left to one of his assistants. If, therefore, as Vasari informs us, Timoteo Viti did give his help to Raphael in this work, his co-operation must have been confined to the 'Prophets.'"¹ This judgment of the Frankfort *savant* has not only been accepted by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but these historians of Italian Art thought they must put the dots over the i's, by ascribing to Timoteo, besides the "Prophets," also the execution of the "draperies" of the "Sibyls" (vol. i. 581). I must here confess, that if I had to choose between the verdicts of the three greatest modern art-historians, namely, Passavant on the one side, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle on the other, I should give my preference to that of Passavant, and for the present leave the draperies of the "Sibyls" to Raphael, until some new and weighty document shall make it clear that those "draperies" were really painted by Timoteo Viti, and not by Raphael himself.²

But let us ask ourselves seriously, how it came to pass that so pleasing, graceful, and in his way and for his time so important an artist as Timoteo Viti shows himself to be, in his works, should have been so utterly misunderstood by all writers on Italian Art? If I mistake not, two circumstances have mainly contributed to Vasari's careless blunder being perpetuated to this day. One of these is

¹ Passavant, as above, i. 157. It is always hazardous to believe blindly in Vasari. Passavant ought to have known, from long experience, that unless you read the "Vite" *cum grano salis*, you always run the risk of falling into a pit.

² Unhappily, this wall-painting in the church Della Pace has been so atrociously painted over, that at most one can only admire in it the composition.

the fact that nearly all writers on Raphael, resting purely on Vasari's statement, have made him go to Perugia and enter the studio of P. Perugino so early as the year 1495. The second and perhaps more cardinal circumstance must be looked for in the utter neglect which art-research, from Vasari downwards, has been guilty of towards Timoteo Viti.

With the exception of Pungileoni, a scholar but no great connoisseur, we ask in vain what art-critic of any weight at all has taken up this most delightful of Francia's pupils, has studied his works, and has compared them with the early works of his young countryman Raffael Sanzio? So little has this been done, that even those most circumspect and conscientious historians of Italian painting, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, are no exception, but, on the contrary, continue to ascribe the most heterogeneous paintings to the same Timoteo Viti.

With a view of putting in the hands of young students of art some sort of clue which might enable them to study this unappreciated master in closer proximity and from various points of view, I invite them, first, to look at the works ascribed to him by Vasari, and consequently also by Passavant and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and then to pass on to a critical review of those paintings which have been added to Vasari's list of his works, both by Passavant and by the latest historians. This juxtaposition, perhaps, may help us better to understand the master and the peculiarities of his physiognomy.

Vasari and Passavant enumerate the following works as those of Timoteo Viti:—

1. A large tempera-picture on canvas, painted by commission of Marino Spaccioli, of Urbino.¹ It represents the

¹ Vasari, viii. 150.

Madonna and Child, with an angel playing; on the sides of the throne, the Saints Crescentius and Vitalis. At present in the Brera Gallery at Milan, but in a very dilapidated condition, especially the Virgin and the infant Christ. Passavant observes that the heads in this picture remind him of Francia and Perugino (why not rather of Raphael?), and that the picture had long passed for a work of Raphael, until documents were discovered that revealed the true master.¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have not a syllable to say on a picture (No. 588) so important to the history of painting, probably because, out of sheer indolence on the part of the gallery direction, it is not named in the catalogue of the Brera Collection, though it hangs there in the dark ante-room leading to the so-called Oggionni Gallery.

2. A St. Apollonia,² painted for the chief altar of the church Della Trinità at Urbino. At present hung in a not very creditable condition at the Municipal Gallery of Urbino. This picture is mentioned by Passavant, and therefore also by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The former calls the figure hard in drawing and cold in colour (it is badly painted over), and even in expression (!). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the other hand, say that in this picture Timoteo "adopted the Raffaellesque as evolved in the art of Spagna."

3. The altar-piece for the chapel of S. Martino in Urbino Cathedral, painted on commission of Bishop Arriabene in the year 1504.³ Now in the sacristy of the same cathedral. Mentioned by Passavant and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

4. St. Magdalen, painted in 1508 on commission of the

¹ Passavant, vol. i., p. 329. ² Vasari, viii. 150. ³ Vasari, viii. 152.

Bolognese Lodovico Amaduzzi.¹ Now in the Pinacotheca of Bologna. Mentioned by Passavant and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the latter praising this work as the best of Timoteo's, while Passavant finds this Magdalen as cold and unattractive as the Apollonia.

5. The altar-piece for the chapel of the Bonaventuri in the church of S. Bernardin,² near Urbino. Now in the Brera Gallery, Milan. Described by Passavant, and also by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Passavant praises particularly the drawing, while the historians of Italian Painting find the figures heavy, and the picture reminds them not only of Francia, but of Pinturicchio.

6. Vasari mentions a picture of "Apollo with *two* Muses,"³ in the ducal palace of Urbino; he seems, however, not to have seen it himself. Baldi, in his "Descrizione del palazzo ducale di Urbino" (p. 527), speaks of panel-pictures, by Timoteo Viti, representing Apollo with the *nine* Muses; Passavant and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give out this work of Timoteo as lost. In the upper storey of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome I saw, some years ago, eight panel-pictures of Apollo, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Calliope, Clio, Melpomene, Erato, and Thalia; each panel measured about 82 centimetres high by 38 wide. These pictures had come to Rome from the ducal palace of Urbino, and under the name of Timoteo Viti. If I am not much mistaken, this Apollo with the seven Muses does not belong to Timoteo Viti, but to Francesco Bianchi of Ferrara; and the Apollo and *two* Muses, mentioned by Vasari, must be considered as lost.

7. The "Noli me tangere" at Cagli, signed, "Timoteo

¹ Vasari, viii. 152.

² Vasari, viii. 153.

³ Vasari, viii. 153.

de Vite *urbinat. opus.*" Painted in 1518 (?). According to Passavant, this picture of Timoteo's is in the style of Raphael, but not without affectation. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also find in it the Raphaelite style, but combined with the hardness and conventionality of Giovanni Santi and Palmezzano.¹ As I have always been prevented from going to Cagli, I am not in a position to add my own opinion to that of the critics named. Also, I have never been able to find the picture mentioned by Vasari, which Timoteo is said to have painted for Città di Castello.² Neither Passavant nor Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle speak of this work of Timoteo; probably it has been lost, as the Florentine commentators of Vasari suppose.

8. Lastly, Vasari mentions, as we have already seen, the co-operation of Timoteo in Raphael's wall-painting of the "Prophets" and "Sibyls" in S. Maria della Pace at Rome, executed by Raphael in 1518.

To these works, ascribed to Timoteo Viti by Vasari, and therefore, also, by all modern art-historians, Passavant and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle unite in adding the enthroned "Virgin and Child with Saints" in the Berlin Gallery (No. 120): this picture is called by the Frankfort *savant* a beautiful,³ and by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "a genuine specimen"⁴ of the master. Then the joint authors of "Italian Painting," on their part attribute the following pictures to Timoteo Viti:—

1. The large panel on which the Evangelist Luke, with his life-size bullock, is represented, painting a portrait of

¹ Vol. i. 580.

² Vasari, viii. 152.

³ Vol. i. 330.

⁴ Vol. i. 582.

Mary.¹ In the Academy of S. Luca at Rome; there ascribed to Raphael himself.²

2. The small "St. Jerome scourging Himself," in the Berlin Gallery (No. 124). Purchased by Baron Rumohr as a work of Timoteo Viti, and entered as such in the gallery catalogue by Dr. Waagen.

3. The "Apotheosis of Maria Egiziaca, with S. Zosimus standing below;" came to the Town Gallery of Ferrara from the church of S. Andrea. Set down in the catalogue of that gallery as a work of Timoteo Viti. To my thinking, this good picture is more probably by another master of the Francia-Costa School, namely, by Ercole Grandi di Giulio Cesare. The structure of the skull, so peculiar to this artist, is, I think, enough to betray him.

4. A small Madonna belonging to the heirs of Prof. Saroli at Ferrara.

5. A picture of "The Crucified lamented by St. Mary and St. John;" at one time in the house of Count Mazza at Ferrara, now no longer there.

6. Lastly, the "Praeseptum;" No. 60, at the Pinacotheca of Bologna, there ascribed to Chiodarolo.³ In my eyes, it is a studio-picture of Lorenzo Costa.

To crown all, Passavant winds up with the remark, that Timoteo Viti had so thoroughly acquired Raphael's manner of drawing with the pen, that his pen-sketches were but too often ascribed by the ignorant to Raphael himself; they were to be recognised, however, by not being so

¹ Vol. i. 581.

² Passavant considers this picture to be designed by Raphael, all but the portrait proper; that the head of St. Luke is even *painted* by Raphael himself, but that all the rest, including the bullock, is executed by other hands (ii. 347 and 348).

³ Vol i. 577, note 1.

masterly in design, and, particularly in large compositions, by a certain lack of deep and *naïve* ideas, the figures being of no great significance, and having little to do with the chief action.¹ Passavant prudently forbears to name those pen-and-ink drawings and those large compositions of Timoteo that prompted the profound remarks just quoted.²

As Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their historical work do not include the Drawings of the several artists, I have not the privilege of quoting their opinion on this point, surely one of the most important in the history of Art.

Now let me ask any unprejudiced and thinking student of Art, is it seriously to be imagined that a talented artist like Timoteo, in his twenty-seventh year, after completing his years of study with Francia, would let himself be taken in hand and tutored by a boy of twelve?—for that was Raphael's age when Timoteo came home from Bologna to Urbino in

¹ Vol. i. 332.

² With what injustice Timoteo Viti is treated in Paris also, by the first connoisseurs of drawings, may be seen by Mr. Reiset ascribing to him the *copy* of Raphael's drawing for his "Belle Jardinière." This wretched copy, when publicly exhibited in 1879, was spoken of in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts" by a great French connoisseur of drawings, the Marquis de Chennevières, in the following terms: "Quand j'aurai noté, de l'ami fidèle de Raphael, Timoteo Viti, une précieuse (!) copie du dessin de la Belle Jardinière, dont nous nous étonnons de ne pas voir ici l'original, qui appartient à Mr. Timbal," etc. The so-called Timoteo drawing belongs to the Duc d'Aumale. In England, also, poor copies after Raphael are given to our Timoteo Viti. Thus in the official Catalogue of the University Galleries, Oxford: "The deposition of the body of our Saviour, No. 40; Sheet of Studies for a composition of the deposition, No. 41; design for the arrangement of the figures in the upper part of the fresco of the Parnassus, No. 68; in the collection of Christ Church College, group of three figures, No. 6. (See a critical account of the drawings by M. Angelo and Raphael in the University Gallery, Oxford, by J. C. Robinson).

1495. Is not exactly the opposite theory by far the likeliest?

The tempera-picture (now in the Brera Gallery) of "Mary Enthroned, and Saints Crescentius and Vitalis," is, so Vasari informs us, the first work that Timoteo painted after his return from Bologna; and, in fact, it has not only a very fresh and youthful look, but vividly reminds us, if not of Perugino, as Passavant imagined, yet of Lorenzo Costa and of Francia.¹ This picture may therefore be a product of the years 1496 to 1500, the very time when Timoteo grew intimate with the Spaccioli family, for whom the painting was executed, and out of whose midst he shortly after, in 1501, chose a wife, Girolama di Guido Spaccioli. The picture, as Passavant tells us, was for a long time considered a work of Raphael, until documents were found which gave it back to Timoteo. Again, the "St. Apollonia" is, according to Vasari, another picture of Timoteo's early time, and we saw that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle found the lovely figure of this saint partly Raffaelesque and partly suggestive of Giovanni Spagna. Can any of my readers now, after all these considerations, still think it hazardous to harbour a doubt as to the stereotyped doctrine that Timoteo Viti was a pupil and imitator of Raphael?

It may be said, "Well, there is no denying that a man of twenty-seven was not likely to receive instruction in his art from a boy of twelve; but, then, how to explain this fact—that not only the early works of Timoteo make a Raphaelite impression on all the art-critics, but that one of them had been actually ascribed to Raphael for

¹ The lights on the drapery as well as on the landscape are laid on in gold, after the fashion that was then dying out.

centuries, and would be still, had not some documents turned up which established the claim of Timoteo ? ”

I must, of course, be prepared for this objection, and will answer it as well as I can.

In April of the year 1495,¹ when Timoteo Viti came back a finished painter to his native-town, Urbino, he there found Raphael, at the age of twelve, left without a master and guide in his art, through the death of his father, Giovanni, the year before. As far as I know, there were no painters of any importance at that time in Urbino. Will anyone call it unlikely, then, that young Raphael should have joined his countryman and senior by fifteen years, and continued under him those studies in painting which had been interrupted by his father's death ?

Timoteo was a lovable, frank, and pure artist-nature, and had gained, as we see by Francia's diary, the entire affection of his master at Bologna. And such being the case, is it not also probable that the mutual esteem and friendship which afterwards existed between young Raphael and Francia, was brought about through this very Timoteo ?

But, it may be objected, how can we admit that a genius like Raphael's should ever have been swayed by so mediocre a painter as Timoteo appears to have been (to judge from his pictures at the Berlin Gallery and from his "St. Luke" painting in the Academy at Rome), when it is so much simpler to suppose that Timoteo, like every artist who was fortunate enough to approach Raphael, was spell-bound by his genius, and modified his own manner

¹ In Francia's diary we read : " 1495, a di 4 Aprile ; partito il mio caro Timoteo, che Dio li dia ogni bene e fortuna : " " My dear Timothy is gone, God grant him all happiness and welfare."

after that of Raphael? My answer is: All this may be very nice and pretty, but it is not logical. For, in the first place, Timoteo Viti, in the next few years after his return to Urbino, paints a "Raphaelesque" picture, at a time when Raphael was hardly fifteen; and, secondly, we know that Raphael, after once leaving Urbino in 1500, revisited his native town only two or three times (in 1504, 1506, and 1507), and never stayed there long. In October of the year 1504 he went from Urbino to Florence. Further, we know that in 1501 Timoteo Viti married Girolama Spaccioli, and from that moment never left his house and family again for any length of time; from which it follows that he could not possibly have studied under Raphael, either at Perugia or at Florence. On all these grounds is it not more reasonable to assume that that touch of Raphael, which all connoisseurs detect in Viti's works, especially in his early pictures, was a part of Timoteo's own individuality? Was he not also an Urbinate? As Lorenzo Lotto was Correggesque sooner than Correggio himself, so Timoteo Viti breathed Raphaelite grace and a Raphaelite delicacy into his works several years before Raphael. But it is not only the general conception of Timoteo's early works that recalls Raphael, it is also the shape of the hands and feet, the oval of the face, the manner of laying on the folds that remind us of his younger countryman. I cheerfully admit that to those who judge of Timoteo Viti by the "Enthroned Madonna" (No. 120) in the Berlin Gallery or the portrait-painting Luke in the Academy of Rome, any exposition of this contested point, however honest, will be the voice of one crying in the wilderness. But if any of my young friends have the courage to follow me on my long and not too lively road of explanation, let them summon up their

patience and perseverance. The aim we strive at is worth some trouble.

Let us first of all survey those works of Timoteo's which are undoubtedly the result of his youthful labours,—namely, those that seem to have first seen the light somewhere between 1495, the year of his return to Urbino, and 1500, the year of Raphael's departure from Urbino to Perugia.

Here the first thing that concerns us is the "Enthroned Madonna, with the Saints Crescentius and Vitalis," at the Brera Gallery (No. 588). In this picture, already designated by Vasari as an early work of Timoteo, the artist (then about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old) seems to be still a good deal influenced by his masters Francia and Lorenzo Costa; the angel playing an instrument reminds us of Costa, the Saints Crescentius and Vitalis of Francia, while the charming figure of the same St. Vitalis must also have contributed largely to this picture's passing so long for a work of Raphael.

Another little picture, in private possession at Milan,¹ must be placed in the same early period, if not earlier. On a small panel, about twenty-eight centimetres high by twenty wide, is represented St. Margaret, holding a palm-branch in her right hand, and in her left a chain by which she leads a dragon that crouches at her feet. The background is filled by a landscape which is not unlike the neighbourhood of Urbino. The head and attitude of the saint involuntarily bring Francia to our recollection, while the oval of the face is like that of Raphael's Madonna del Granduca. The picture came from Urbino to Rome as a work of Timoteo, and was acquired there by its present

¹ The property of the Author.



St. Vitalis. By Timoteo Viti. (Milan.)

possessor. The cartoon for this small "St. Margaret" was used again for the figure of Apollonia in the altar-piece of the little church of S. Trinità; but, instead of the palm-branch, the artist has put a pair of tongs in the Saint's right hand, and left the dragon out. Here I will add the remark, that the dragon at the feet of St. Margaret is very like the one in young Raphael's picture of St. George (now in the Louvre, No. 369, the drawing for it in the Uffizi).

In my treatise on the Borghese Gallery, incautiously, and relying on Passavant's opinion, I ascribed the beautiful little picture of "Apollo and Marsyas" (now in the possession of Mr. Morris Moore), to Timoteo Viti. I have seen this picture only once, and then hurriedly, when it was exhibited in the Brera Gallery at Milan, I think in 1858. At that time I had the impression that the picture might rather belong to Marco Melloni, an imitator of Francia and Perugino. Afterwards, misled by Passavant, I gave it to Timoteo Viti. I herewith publicly acknowledge my mistake. Though I have never seen the picture again, I have arrived at the conviction, through a close study of the drawing for the picture at the Venetian Academy, that this work cannot belong either to Raphael or to Timoteo Viti, but most probably to a master whose style is in close affinity with that of Perugino.

I likewise reckon amongst the early works of Timoteo that series of seventeen majolica-plates, adorned with figures of mythological import, which, to my mind, are among the most valuable treasures of the Museo Correr at Venice. If I am not mistaken, it must have been Timoteo himself that painted these exquisite little pictures on the plates. The figures, one and all, bear the stamp of the Francia-Costa School, and it is quite incomprehensible to me how so intelligent a man as Lazzari could, in the



St. Margaret. By Timoteo Viti. (Milan.)

Museum Catalogue, so utterly misconceive the high artistic value of these plates, as not only to refer them to the year 1484, but to ascribe them, moreover, to a factory at Faenza, when, to all appearance, they come from the celebrated majolica-factory of Castel Durante. I am no less surprised that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who must often have pursued searching inquiries in that Museum, have not thought these plates worthy of any notice, whilst in the same room they found words of acknowledgment for masters like Pasqualino, or Jacopo da Valenza. I regret it the more, as an encouraging sign from them would have given me a fresh start for my own researches about Timoteo Viti.

Besides these few works known to me of Timoteo Viti's early period, there may be many other things of his scattered about the world, possibly under the name of Raphael.¹ The collection of drawings at Oxford, for instance, possesses a beautiful female head in black chalk, the young woman holding a palm-branch in her left hand. At Oxford this drawing is ascribed to Raphael. Mr. J. C. Robinson, however, a discriminating judge of drawings, has with a fine tact divined in this drawing the hand of Timoteo Viti.² (In Braun's Catalogue, No. 14.) To my

¹ The collection of the Venetian Academy has, under the name of Raphael, a brown water-colour drawing of a young man looking upwards with folded hands, seen in profile; a drawing which, in my opinion, is by Timoteo.

² "A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford," by J. C. Robinson; Oxford, 1870. The preconception, however, that Raphael was not the pupil, but the master of Timoteo, has immediately blinded his eyes again. See p. 141, No. 27: "That is a careful, shaded drawing of small life-sized proportions, probably for a 'St. Catharine.' Although full of *Raffaellesque* expression [I find even more Costaesque expression], and resembling

eyes this original drawing belongs unmistakably to Timoteo's early period, and is very characteristic of the master. The Louvre, too, possesses a drawing by Timoteo Viti (retouched) in black chalk and gypsum; a kneeling Magdalen holding up her right arm.

Let us now set the above-named works of Timoteo Viti by the side of those pictures and drawings which we can believe to have been done by Raphael when fifteen or sixteen years old. Unfortunately, there are but few of these at our disposal: one small painting and a couple of drawings. The painting is the so-called "Dream of a Knight," No. 213 at the National Gallery, London. The drawings: first, that for the above-named picture, also in the National Gallery; secondly, a pen-and-ink drawing in the Wicar Collection at Lille, representing two young archers,¹ probably studies for a "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian." (?)

Now I beg my young friends to examine very attentively these two drawings, and I have no doubt they will soon find that the scrutiny leads their thoughts to Timoteo Viti rather than to Pietro Perugino. The landscape background in the painting of the "Knight's Dream" is very different from the landscapes, not only in the pictures of Perugino and Pinturicchio, but from those of Raphael himself in his Perugino period. The folds, for instance, that on

Raffaello's style both in type of face and in *technical execution*, it is certainly not by his hand . . . it may be a copy [?!] from one of Raffaello's drawings by a contemporary artist: perhaps it is the work of his friend Timoteo della Vite." A striking proof of the fact that the drawings as well as paintings of Timoteo are but little known, may be found in the collection of drawings at the Uffizi Gallery. There a study by Sodoma for one of his wall-paintings in the cloisters of Montoliveto (near Siena) is stupidly ascribed to Timoteo Viti. The drawing is photographed by Philpot, No. 1952 in his catalogue.

¹ Photographed by Braun, No. 64.

the upper arm of the allegorical figure to the right of the sleeping knight, correspond exactly to the fold on the arm of Timoteo's "St. Margaret." The full, roundish oval of the face in this female figure likewise resembles that in the Margaret. Then look at the broad, almost square middle-hand (metacarpium) of the dreaming knight, which Timoteo seems to have picked up from his master, Costa (fig. *a*),

Fig. *a*

and passed it on to young Raphael. It is curious how Raphael afterwards, when under the influence of Perugino at Perugia, modifies this broad hand of his; it gets narrower, and the fingers longer (fig. *b*), of which we may

Fig. *b*

convince ourselves by the two pictures of "The Crucified" at Lord Dudley's,¹ and the "Coronation of Mary" in the

¹ In this picture by young Raphael—the *first* he signed with his name—the angels flying at the top are taken from a picture that Spagna had executed for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, after a cartoon

Vatican Gallery. These two pictures were painted by Raphael between the years 1501 and 1503 under the direct influence of Perugino, nay, the "Coronation of Mary" may very likely have been handed over to the buyer, as the work of Perugino's own hand.¹ Then, a year or two after, about 1504, when Raphael begins to be himself again, and is emancipating himself from the impressions of the Perugino School, the broad Costa-Timoteo hand reappears in the paintings of young Raphael; the tints of the flesh grow brighter too, and the shadows grey again instead of black. One example of it is the "Marriage of Mary," in the Brera Gallery at Milan, of the year 1504, and as far as I know, the *second* picture signed with Raphael's name. The composition of this picture is, we know, by his master, P. Perugino,² and it is very probable that young Raphael, not from any lack of ideas of his own, but either at the express desire of the intending purchaser, or out of modesty, kept closely to the design of his master. But

of his master, Perugino (now in the Vatican); the "St. John" is taken from another picture, one that Perugino himself had painted for the church of S. Chiara at Perugia, in 1495. This fine painting, the "Deposizione," now hangs in the Palazzo Pitti (No. 164). His central figure, the Crucified Christ, Raphael copied from a drawing of Perugino's which had already served him for that early work of his, "The Crucified, lamented by Mary Magdalen, Jerome, John the Baptist, and the Saints Francesco and Giovanni Colombini," painted for the Compagnia della Calza at Florence. The other figures are also borrowed from drawings of his master, Pietro, executed by him for his wall-painting at the Convent Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, at Florence.

¹ At Perugia the picture was, for a long time, considered a work of Perugino.

² In the choir of the convent-church of St. Jerome at Spello there is said to be a "Marriage of Mary" in fresco by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, whether painted earlier or later than Perugino's we are not told, but very similar to his in composition. (See "Indice-Guida," by Mariano Guardabassi.)

when we come to consider the harmony of colours in this delightful painting, we cannot deny that in this point he re-approximates his former master, Timoteo, almost as much as in many other features he remains true to his second teacher, Perugino.¹ But enough of this, for I fear I have already wearied my young friends with pedantic disquisitions that lose themselves in peddling details. But I beg them to consider that this question has become almost an affair of the heart with me. It is a conviction that has ripened in me through long and conscientious study, that Raphael served his first apprenticeship, not at Perugia, but at Urbino, and that he there received his earliest and therefore deepest impressions in his art, first from his father, and then from the amiable Timoteo Viti. It would be my ardent desire to get one of my young friends, whose mind has kept itself free from old musty prejudices, to participate in this conviction. I cannot but think it would be a most attractive

¹ Thus the shape of the hand in the maiden who stands behind Mary is quite à la Timoteo, while the hand of the youth standing behind St. Joseph is rather à la Perugino, in whose style also is the landscape background with the beautiful temple in the middle. It is a great satisfaction to me, that in Baron Rumohr's paragraph on the development of young Raphael, I find a passage proving that that acute and independently judging connoisseur arrived at much the same view as I have just propounded to my readers. "It puzzles us," says Rumohr, "when we see artists turn back from a position they have taken, to brush up again older impressions that seemed effaced, reanimate them, and combine them with the newly-acquired. Seldom is the genetic history of even celebrated artists known to us in detail, and that of Raphael far too compendiously to enable us to account for the extremely varied phenomena of his early life. We shall, therefore, have to start with the assumption that, from the time of his exit from the paternal school, he must have lived and worked more independently than is generally supposed," etc.—*Researches*, iii. 34.

task for a young inquirer to study and explore the genesis of the most perfect representative of Italian art.

Let us now see, first of all, what works of Raphael's early period are mentioned by his celebrated biographer, Passavant.

1. "The Infant Christ, caressing the little St. John," in the sacristy of the church of S. Pietro at Perugia. This picture, sadly disfigured by rude re-painting, belongs, I think, undoubtedly to P. Perugino. We have but to look at those unsightly leather-bag paunches of both the little "putti," at the shapes of the hand and ear, so utterly different from the hands and the round fat ears of Raphael.¹

2. Studies after his master, Pietro, in the collection of drawings at the Academy of Venice. Most of these pen-and-ink drawings are, as I have already tried to prove, from the hand of Bernardino Pinturicchio, and not by Raphael at all.

3. The drawing in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, representing St. Martin on horseback. This drawing certainly does not belong to Raphael; it ought rather to be ascribed to another pupil of Perugino and Pinturicchio, namely, Eusebio da San Giorgio. The Saint's horse, for one thing, is not of the same breed that Raphael had chosen for his type of a horse. Compare, for instance, the skull of this horse in the Frankfort drawing with the heads of horses in the two drawings in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, that represent St. George fighting the dragon, and you will certainly be of my opinion in the matter. (On the back of the sheet there is a pen-drawing after P. Perugino.) If Passavant has, in this drawing, con-

¹ A study for it may be seen among Perugino's drawings in the Uffizi at Florence (Philpot, 649).

founded Raphael with Eusebio da San Giorgio, he has recently been followed by another art-critic very well known in Germany, Dr. Ernst Förster, who tries to claim for young Raphael the "Adoration of the Kings" in the Town Gallery of Perugia, an unmistakable painting of Eusebio's.

4. The "Resurrection of Christ," now in the Vatican Collection. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also follow Passavant in attributing this by no means first-rate picture to Raphael.¹ Passavant imagined that in some drawings in the Oxford Collection he had discovered studies for the sleeping guards in this painting, but I believe that here also he was mistaken. In speaking of the Predella, No. 1185 of the Munich Gallery, I expressed my opinion about this picture, and ascribed it to Giovanni Spagna. The panel

¹ The historians of Italian painting find in it even resemblances to another painting, the "Christ on the Cross" at Lord Dudley's, a work that young Raphael seems to have painted about a year before his "Coronation of Mary." Well, this last picture hangs in the same Vatican Gallery, only a few paces distant from the "Resurrection." I therefore beg my young friends to compare the two pictures, and; then say whether they notice in the "Resurrection" the same bright colouring, the same deep-black pupil and brilliant white in the eyes, the same black shadows, the same long-fingered hands, the same expression of soul in the heads, that cannot have escaped them in the "Coronation."

What may have misled Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their judgment is, perhaps, the two flying angels, present alike in the "Resurrection" and the "Crucifixion," and almost identical in both. Does that prove any more than that Raphael simply borrowed from his master the two angels for the upper part of his "Crucifixion," and the "Madonna and St. John" for the lower part? The St. John he has taken from the "Deposizione" in the Pitti Palace, the Madonna and Magdalen from Perugino's great wall-painting at the nunnery of S. Maria de' Pazzi at Florence. Originality was altogether differently understood in those times, and it was almost the regular thing for scholars and assistants to avail themselves of the master's drawings or cartoons for their own paintings.

formerly stood in the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, and had already been mentioned by Vasari as a work of Pietro Perugino (Ediz. Le Monnier, vi. 42). Orsini likewise ascribes it to him. Quite recently, however, when it was hung in the large hall of the Vatican, certain wise critics discovered traces of Perugino in the face of one watchman, and traces of young Raphael in that of the other who lies asleep. After this discovery the picture was re-christened, and declared to be a joint production of Perugino and Raphael. Mr. Passavant therefore saw in this picture a touching proof of the bosom-friendship that united master and pupil. As this interpretation sounds amiable—almost sentimental, it is much to the taste of the modern art-public, especially the ladies. For my own part I can detect in this painting neither the colours, nor the forms, nor one single feature of the Urbinate; whereas I believe I distinctly perceive in it the hand of Giovanni Spagna, to whom, as his assistant, the master Perugino may probably have left the execution of the picture after his cartoon.¹

5. So also, in the magnificent triptych that Perugino painted for the Certosa, near Pavia (now in the National Gallery, London), not only Passavant,² but Baron Rumohr before him, thought they recognised the hand of young Raphael. Perugino, however, most likely painted this

¹ This picture, like Raphael's "Coronation of Mary," afterwards, was probably delivered to the purchaser as a work of the master himself; hence Vasari, following his reporter, ascribed it to P. Perugino.

² Vol. ii. 4. One drawing for the angel that leads Tobias in this picture is to be found in the Oxford Collection. "Ce dessin," says Passavant, "qui passa de la succession de Lawrence dans la collection d'Oxford peut être considéré, à juste titre, comme un ouvrage de la jeunesse de Raphael." Another in the British Museum.

picture (one of his most perfect works) before the end of the 15th century, when Raphael was still at Urbino.

6. A small Madonna, once owned by a certain Countess Alfani, of Perugia, now (?) in a private house at Terni. The most I can say for this little picture is, that it belongs to the School of Perugino.

7. The two washed drawings for the frescoes in the "Libreria" at Siena: one in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, the other in the house Baldeschi, at Perugia. Both drawings are evidently the work of Pinturicchio.

8. The drawing of the "Two Graces" in the Venice Collection; also to be ascribed to Pinturicchio.

Thus, out of all these eight works, cited by Passavant as first fruits of Raphael's genius, I cannot acknowledge *one*, and I have no doubt every serious student will share my opinion.

9. "Christ on the Cross," now at Lord Dudley's, in London; painted about 1501.

10. The Madonna (No. 145) in the Berlin Gallery; the drawing for it in the "Albertina" at Vienna.

11. The other Madonna (No. 141) in the Berlin Gallery.

12. The "Coronation of Mary," in the picture gallery of the Vatican.

13. The small Madonna, painted for the Staffa family of Perugia; now at the Imperial Palace, St. Petersburg.¹

14. The "Dream of a Knight;" in the National Gallery, London.

15. The "Marriage of Mary;" at Milan.

¹ This little picture cost the family Alfani, for whom it was painted, 100 Roman scudi; while Count Conestabili received for it 330,000 lire from the Empress of Russia. (See *Erasmus Gattamelata*, etc., per Giovanni Erolì; Roma, 1876.)

16. The "Madonna del Granduca;" at Florence.

Now that I have conscientiously cited all the pictures ascribed by our best-known Raphaelists and art-historians to Timoteo Viti, and also recalled to my reader's recollection the artistic development of Raphael as Passavant represents it, let me go over the same road again according to my own understanding of it. Some repetition will be unavoidable, but the great interest of the subject makes it well worth while to spare no pains to attain my object, and to clear up so important a question.

According to my view of the matter, not one of the works the Raphaelists ascribe to young Raphael can be dated any farther back than 1500; for even the processional flag of Città di Castello, now utterly spoilt, with the Trinity on one side and the Creation of Eve on the other, is declared to be conceived and painted altogether in the spirit of Perugino,¹ and the same is true of Raphael's "Coronation of St. Nicolas of Tolentino," a picture now totally ruined. At the same time we are not to suppose that a youth so gifted, nay, so precocious, as Raphael, had not already mastered all the technics of his art, in his 15th or 16th year. His works of the first years of the 16th century are enough to prove that. I therefore stick to my belief, that the young Raphael did not come to Perugia before the end of the year 1499, and that there he entered the studio of Perugino, not as a pupil, but as an assistant.

I shall first enumerate, in chronological order, such works of Timoteo as are known to me, and then pass in

¹ This damaged processional flag belongs, in my opinion, not to Raphael, but most decidedly to Eusebio da S. Giorgio. (Now in the Town Gallery of Città di Castello.) Compare it with pictures by Eusebio, Nos. 23, 16, 20, etc., in the Town Gallery of Perugia.

review those pictures that I think belong to the early period of Raphael :—

WORKS OF TIMOTEO VITI.

1. "The Enthroned Madouna, with Saints Crescentius and Vitalis." (Brera Gallery.)

2. "St. Margaret." (Milan.)

3. A Drawing in the Oxford Collection: A Woman with a palm-branch in her left hand.

4. "St. Apollonia," in the Town Museum of Urbino. Unfortunately, much damaged.

5. The Majolica Plates, with subjects from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," in the Museo Correr, Venice.

6. A washed Drawing at the Venetian Academy: whole-length figure of a young man, with folded hands and looking upwards; in profile. (There under the name of Raphael.)

7. "The Annunciation, with Saints Sebastian and John the Baptist" (still strongly reminding of Francia); in the Brera Gallery, Milan.

8. The Drawing in black chalk and gypsum at the Louvre: St. Magdalen kneeling, her left arm held up. Retouched, but genuine, and with the correct signature of Timoteo Viti.

Now, on these early works of Timoteo Viti (from about 1495 to 1503) young Raphael cannot have had the least influence; for on the one hand there is not a feature in them that reminds us of Pietro Perugino, but plenty of Lorenzo Costa and Francia, while, on the other hand, all the pictures of Raphael's early period, such as "The Crucified" at Lord Dudley's, and "The Coronation of Mary" in the Vatican (of about 1501 to 1503), have an out-and-out Perugino look.

9. The Altar-piece for Bishop Arrivabene, painted by Timoteo in 1504; in the sacristy of Urbino Cathedral. In the upper part of this excellent panel-painting we see the sainted Bishops Tommaso di Villanova and Martino, the first pictured with a crucifix in his outstretched left, the other in the act of blessing; the lower half of the picture contains portraits of Bishop Arrivabene and Duke Guidobaldo III. of Montefeltro, both kneeling; landscape, with the city of Mantua in the background. Well preserved, but in a very dirty state.

10. A Youth in profile, bust; in the Town Gallery of Brescia, there ascribed to Cesare da Sesto.

11. "St. Magdalen;" in the Pinacotheca of Bologna (1508—1509).

12. The "Noli me tangere," at Cagli; of about 1518 (?)

To these twelve pictures, which seem to me, one and all, distinctly Timoteo's, I would fain have added a few more, had I felt equally sure about them. Thus, for instance, I remember to have seen years ago, in that same sacristy of Urbino Cathedral, and near the picture of Arrivabene, a so-called "Nativity of Christ," which, though ascribed there to Giovanni Santi, gave me altogether the impression of being a work of Timoteo in his later period, when he may have been somewhat under the influence of his countryman Girolamo Genga, who was in high favour with the Duke.

Evidently the whole stock of Viti's works that I am able to produce is very small. But who knows how many pictures by this genial and engaging master may be scattered about the world under the name of Raphael or Francia?

We are naturally brought now to the works of Raphael's early period, which I should like to call his *Urbino period* (1498—1500). The following may, I think, be included in this category:—

1. The pen-and-ink drawing of the Archer; as yet very childish and simple in conception, diligent and careful in execution. The shape of the ear in the young man near the archer has already that fulness which became the characteristic form of ear in Raphael; this, as well as the form of hand, and the curls combed back, still remind one very much of Timoteo. This interesting drawing is to be found in the Wicar Collection, Lille, so rich in drawings of Raphael's early time; it is No. 64 in Braun's Catalogue. The Archer seen from behind is taken from a picture by Luca Signorelli (the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," 1498, in the Town Gallery of Città di Castello). At the back of this now disfigured drawing of the Archer is a study of the Madonna teaching the infant Christ to read; also a very early work.

2. The "Dream of a Knight." This charming little picture, which like a rosebud foretells the approaching spring (1499—1500), came to London from the Borghese Gallery, and was acquired for the National Gallery.

3. The Sketch for the above picture, likewise in the National Gallery. Execution with the pen very neat, conscientious, and painstaking, I might almost say painful. It reminds me of Timoteo, both in the structure of the landscape—so utterly unlike Perugino's—in the fall of the folds, for instance, on the upper arm of the female figure to the right of the knight, in the short dress, not quite reaching the ankle, in the kerchief tied round the head (exactly as Timoteo was in the habit of making it), and also in the broad, somewhat flat hand of the sleeping knight, and the roundish form of head in the allegorical figure with the sword. (See Woodcut.) I have no doubt that every connoisseur will recognise in this naïve drawing the hand of a boy, of great genius, no doubt, but still a boy.



The Dream of a Knight. Drawing by Raphael. (London.)

4. Drawing of a female head and bust; probably a study for a Madonna (No. 2,797 in Philpot's Catalogue). This splendid drawing, of so pronounced a Timotean character, Raphael may have completed shortly before leaving home, and taken it with him to Perugia, or he may have finished it in the early part of his residence there; for he afterwards added another female head, in which I think I can see more freedom in the use of the pen. But that is only a guess, and may therefore be an illusion. The second head may very likely have been added during that period of Raphael when he made his drawing of Madonna studies, which is likewise in the collection of the Uffizi Gallery. No. 1,096 in Philpot's Catalogue. (1503—1504.)

We now come to the works of Raphael in his *Perugino period*:—

1. Raphael's share in the execution of the large altarpiece, "Transfiguration of Mary," which master Perugino painted for the monks of Vallombrosa in 1500, and which has now found a place in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence. Photographed by Alinari.

2. The portrait of his master Perugino in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, there ascribed to Holbein.¹ This painting, which is unfortunately somewhat damaged, came to Rome from Urbino with the "Dream of a Knight" and the "Three Graces" (at Lord Dudley's).

3. Somewhere about this period must be placed the naïve drawing of the "Virgin and Child," with a landscape background that reminds us again of Timoteo's landscapes. Over the Virgin's head the nimbus is still indicated, which Raphael usually leaves out in his later

¹ See my treatise on the Borghese Gallery in Lützow's "Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst," year xi.

drawings. In the Oxford Collection. No. 10 in Braun's Catalogue.

4. Some noble studies from nature (for the succeeding picture, "Mary's Coronation"), now in the British Museum; Braun, No. 70. The Lille Collection too has a fine study for the head and hands of the "St. Thomas;" photographed by Braun, No. 58.

5. The "Coronation of Mary," in the Vatican. The shadows still rather black. The shape of the hand and the landscape in the background are Peruginesque, as in No. 6. Some of the angel-minstrels in this picture are inspired by those in Perugino's "Transfiguration of Mary." (See No. 1 above.) Photographed by Alinari.

This picture was for many years considered a work of Perugino himself, probably because it had been ordered of him, and so passed out of his studio to the purchaser under the master's instead of the assistant's name.¹

6. "Christ on the Cross," at Lord Dudley's, in London; painted about 1501. The fine, somewhat womanly, and impressionable nature of young Raphael very soon forgets his teacher Timoteo while at Perugia, and strives with all its might, as we see in this interesting picture, to adapt itself to the manner of his new master. We have already remarked that in this picture Raphael borrowed the two flying angels who catch the blood of Christ in cups, as well as the Christ and the other figures, from Perugino. The Christ is taken from Pietro's painting at the Chapel

¹ The beautiful predella to this painting is also in the Vatican, but sadly neglected. It consists of three sections: the "Angel's Message," the "Presentation of Christ in the Temple," and the "Adoration of the Shepherds." The pen-drawing for the "Annunciation" is at the Louvre; that for the "Presentation" in the Oxford Collection; the sketch for the "Adoration" belongs to Cavalier Donini of Perugia.

della Calza ; the Magdalen from his fresco at S. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence ; the St. John from his "Deposizione" at the Palazzo Pitti. The shadows in the picture are very black, nay, sooty. The shape of the hand is modified after the Peruginian hand, the fist being narrower and the fingers longer than in the hand of the Dreaming Knight ; the ear of St. Jerome is fat and round, a peculiarity which Raphael retained from that time to the end of his life ; the landscape in the background is thoroughly Peruginian : a plain with a river in the middle, and hilly ground on both sides. Here also we find, on St. Jerome's thigh for instance, those longish cross-puckers that are peculiar to Perugino and Pinturicchio. In short, there is in this picture of Raphael's hardly a feature left to remind us of Timoteo. Yet the noble, deep, and tender spirit of the young artist already shines so brilliantly out of these figures, that in gazing at them we scarcely think of Pietro Perugino.

7. "Mary with the Child," in the Berlin Gallery (No. 141) : Mary reading a book, which she holds in her right hand ; with the left she supports the right foot of the Infant, who sits in her lap, holding a goldfinch in his left hand. The shadows still black, as in the three above-named paintings. The form of the hand and the landscape background Peruginian ; the fingers, however, not so long as in pictures 2 and 6, but the thumb, in shape as well as movement, is altogether Perugino's ; even the figure of the naked Child reminds you of the "putti" of master Pietro.¹

¹ Raphael may have painted this little picture shortly after Perugino's departure to Florence in the autumn of 1502 ; he used for it a drawing by his elder friend Pinturicchio—a proof that the young Urbinate followed this latter master also. Pinturicchio's drawing is (under Raphael's name) in the Salle aux Boîtes at the Louvre ; Braun, 250.

If Raphael had remained a few years longer in the studio and under the direct influence of Perugino, he would doubtless have made that master's manner so much his own, that it would have cost him much labour afterwards to work his way out of it.

8. "Madonna and Child, with Saints Jerome and Francis;" likewise in this Gallery (No. 145). For the composition of this painting, Raphael had recourse to another drawing of Pinturicchio's, which is at the Albertina of Vienna. I am aware that this beautiful and very carefully-executed drawing is ascribed by the greatest authorities, including Passavant, to Pietro Perugino, and that their verdict is accepted by the authors of the Berlin Gallery catalogue; but, sorry as I am to differ from men of their standing, it is impossible for me to share their opinion. In the pen-drawing at the Albertina, the shape of the hand in the Madonna, and very markedly in St. Jerome, also the shape of the ear in St. Francis, are neither Raphaelesque, nor in the manner of Perugino; they are just those peculiar to Pinturicchio. Then the type of the infant Christ is the same that we often meet with in the Madonnas of Pinturicchio, for instance, in his beautiful altar-piece, which once adorned the principal altar of St. Anne's Church at Perugia, and afterwards found its way into the Town Gallery. (This picture was painted by Pinturicchio in the year 1495.¹) Again, the broad plate-shaped golden nimbus, with a cross on it, over the head of the infant Christ, is found, as far as I can remember, only in Pinturicchio, not in Perugino, nor in young Raphael. One more remark I should like to make: the fine pointed pen which the master used in this draw-

¹ Baron Rumohr has eulogized this painting (ii. 331).

ing is the same that served him for most of his drawings at the Venetian Academy. In Perugino's drawings, on the contrary, the lines are broader and more densely crossed, making the shadows much deeper and darker. Besides, I never saw a Madonna by Pietro with the infant Christ sitting, as in this Albertina drawing, on a cushion on his Mother's knee, though it is often the case with Pinturicchio. But all this is merely words, and though it may be true that we can quibble very prettily with words, it is equally true that we cannot convince with words alone. Therefore, to enable my young friends to form an independent opinion on the controversy, I will, with their permission (after completing this list of Raphael's works of the second period), select for them a few photographed drawings of Pinturicchio on the one hand, and of Perugino on the other, so that they may compare them with one another, and learn to distinguish the style of one master from that of the other.

9. The fine drawing of "Mary presenting a Pomegranate to the infant Christ who sits before her;" at the Albertina, Vienna. This is a modified imitation of that drawing by Perugino which has lately come to Berlin under the name of Raphael, and which Raphael afterwards used for his Madonna Connestabile (now at St. Petersburg).

10. The small "Salvator Mundi" at the Town Gallery of Brescia (once belonged to Tosi).

11. The "St. Sebastian" at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (formerly belonged to Lochis).

(a). PINTURICCHIO.

From this master I purposely choose some of his better drawings in the well-known collection at the Venetian Academy; because, if these belong to Raphael, as is gene-

rally supposed since Bossi's time, the drawing in the Albertina (for the picture at Berlin) must no longer be ascribed to Perugino, but to Raphael; if, on the contrary, the drawings at Venice are by Pinturicchio, as I am convinced they are, then the drawing at the Albertina must also come from the same master.

1. A Female Figure, kneeling, with the head gently inclined, and folded hands. Photographed by Perini, No. 7. In this I recognise a study of Pinturicchio for the Madonna in his "Praeseptum with St. Jerome," the fine altar-piece (painted 1483) of the first chapel to the right in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, Rome.

2. Two Male Figures, seen from behind; studies of drapery. Perini at Venice, No. 21. Executed by Pinturicchio, at Perugino's order.

3. Two of the three Graces in the antique marble group, formerly in the Libreria of Siena Cathedral, now kept in a room of the bishop's palace. No. 59 of Perini; in Selvatico's catalogue, Quadro xxvi. 18: "bastevole intelligenza dell' antico, ma poca correzione."

These three drawings are all evidently by one and the same hand.

(b). P. PERUGINO.

1. A Monk reading, whole-length pen-drawing in the collection of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. Photographed by Philpot, No. 628.

2. Whole-length figure of Socrates, standing (in the Cambio at Perugia), carefully-executed drawing, Uffizi Gallery. No. 543 in Braun's Catalogue.

3. Two Male Figures, standing, the one bending a bow, the other shooting his off. (Probably a study for his fresco, "The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," at the church of

Panicale, near Perugia.) Pen-drawing in the Duke d'Aumale's collection. Photographed by Braun, No. 100.

4. Pen-drawing; study of "putti" in various attitudes. In the collection of the Uffizi Gallery; Philpot's Catalogue, No. 649.¹

Now, if young Raphael, then about twenty years old, did really, as I believe, paint that little picture in the Berlin Gallery from Pinturicchio's drawing in the Albertina, we are involuntarily led to the belief that, during his stay at Perugia, he must have stood on a footing of intimacy with Pinturicchio. And with such friendly relations subsisting between the *Decemvir* Pinturicchio, then verging on fifty, and Raphael, a youth of twenty, it is a very natural conjecture that the young artist, from sheer desire of learning, would often visit the studio of the renowned Pinturicchio, and pick up valuable hints from that master. The well-known drawing² in the Oxford collection which represents four young men standing, three of them leaning on their lances, furnishes, I think, the best proof of the soundness of this hypothesis. In this drawing we see the same young man in four different postures. It is, therefore, a study from nature, a so-called drawing from the model, and not a composition. Now, did Pinturicchio make the same studies, at the same time and from the same model as Raphael, which I think most probable, or did he borrow this "model-drawing" from Raphael for one of his own wall-paintings in the Libreria of Siena?

¹ Here I must remark, that a good many of Perugino's drawings in public collections are erroneously ascribed to Raphael; for instance, the "Tobias with the Angel," and a study of two watchmen, for the "Resurrection" at Oxford.

² No. 14 in the Catalogue of the Raphael Drawings by Mr. J. C. Robinson.

This much is certain, that Pinturicchio, in one of his Siena frescoes, has brought in three of these young men in the middle-distance, with some slight alterations from the drawing; for instance, the young warrior with the lance and short yellow cloak, who in Raphael's study appears almost in profile and looking to the left, turns his face to the right in the fresco; the second young man, the leader, who marches in front of the other in a red cap, shows in the fresco the *whole* of his left foot balanced on tiptoe, while Raphael's sheet puts him in a different attitude; Pinturicchio also makes him stretch out his right arm, and hold a stick in his hand—details which are arranged otherwise in the drawing. The middle figure in Raphael's "Model-drawing" is wanting in the fresco. Moreover the group in Pinturicchio is much livelier than in Raphael's study.

On the strength of these considerations I think we may be allowed to presume that young Raphael drew the same figure from nature in different attitudes in the atelier of Pinturicchio, and very likely together with his elder friend. It would seem well-nigh ridiculous to suppose that an artist who had grown grey in his profession, who had been Court-painter to Pope Alexander VI., would have had the composition for his work in the Libreria of Siena Cathedral done for him by a youth of twenty.

Vasari, who (as Baron Rumohr has remarked, ii. 330) never had a good word for Pinturicchio, seems to have blindly taken the fable forged by Sienese municipal vanity for sterling coin, and given it currency in his work.¹

¹ See the comments of his Florentine editors (Ediz. Le Monnier, v. 287). The contract which they quote says, among other things: "*Item sia tenuto fare tutti li disegni delle istorie di sua mano, in cartoni et in muro, fare le teste di sua mano tutte in fresco, et in secho*

It is my opinion that the first five of the above-named works, along with many drawings, of course, which it would take too long to enumerate here, were executed by Raphael during the first three years of his stay at Perugia, and under the direct influence of his master Pietro Perugino, that is, in the years 1500—1502. Towards the end of the latter year Pietro went to Florence, and then spent the greater part of the following years (1503—1505), partly there and partly in Città della Pieve, his native town.

Left to himself after the departure of his master,¹ Raphael seems to have endeavoured gradually, under the guidance of his own great genius, to emancipate himself

ritocchare et finire infino alla perfectione," etc. It is a puzzle to me how Baron Rumohr came to see so many different hands in those Siena frescoes. He says, for instance (iii. 45): 'Visibly, many assistants lent a hand in the Libreria; in the 'Crowning of Aeneas Sylvius as a Public Poet,' the hand, mind, and taste of Sodoma are not to be mistaken (!). In other parts Pacchiarotto makes his appearance . . . while the slighter portions of the performance have been left to less talented helpers. *Raphael's hand*, however, betrays itself *nowhere*, not even in the two pictures which were certainly *from his designs*;' which is likewise incorrect. (If any assistant's hand be discernible in one or another of these frescoes, it might, I think, be that of Matteo Balduzzi in some of the landscapes.)

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii. p. 281) are of a different opinion when they say: "We have no doubt that he is correctly described by Vasari as having engaged many of the apprentices and workmen in the School of Perugino. We shall find that among these young Raphael was probably included." And p. 287: "And the resemblance of style between *those of young Sanzio now at Venice* [the Bossi drawings] and others which repeat scenes depicted in the Piccolomini (?) library, strengthen the belief that he did so."

¹ A journey of Raphael to Siena, *to help Pinturicchio with his frescoes* in the Libreria of the cathedral, is what I should think no serious inquirer will now maintain. It was plainly a pure invention of Sienese local patriotism. There is not a feature to be found in these frescoes

from the Perugino manner. One proof of this, amongst others, is the "Madonna del Libro," painted for the house Staffa at Perugia, after a drawing of Perugino's (at Berlin). In the same year, 1503, he may have produced the St. Sebastian bust, which came to the Communal Gallery of Bergamo from the collection of the late Count Lochis.

In the following year, 1504, he completed that beautiful picture the "Marriage of Mary," for the church of S. Sebastian at Città del Castello (Brera Gallery). It is worth noting, that, in this painting, whose composition, we know, belongs to Perugino, Raphael partly reverts to his former Timotean form of hand. Here also the sooty shadows and jet-black eye-pupils of his earlier pictures (Nos. 2, 3, 6) have disappeared, and the flesh-tints have assumed a lighter tone, which is more like the flesh-colour in the pictures of Timoteo than in those of Perugino.

In the spring of 1504 Raphael visited his native town, Urbino, after an absence of nearly four years. During the five or six months he spent there, it is more than probable

that would be beyond the artistic ability of Pinturicchio; on the contrary, I think the faults of the master in composition as well as in drawing show themselves more glaringly here than anywhere else. Passavant allows that Raphael had no direct share in these frescoes, and quotes *as a proof* the "History of Siena," by Sigismund Tizio, where there is not a word said to imply any co-operation of Raphael in those wall-paintings. Nevertheless, as the drawing of the Graces in marble, which were in that Libreria, is generally accepted as Raphael's (this drawing is one of the set of "Raphael drawings," so-called, at the Venetian Academy), we must conclude, says Passavant, that young Raphael stayed some time at Siena (i. 60). But we have already seen that even this drawing of the "Two Graces" is by Pinturicchio, and not by Raphael. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of Raphael having, as early as 1503, paid his friend and instructor a short visit at Siena.

that he executed those pictures named by Passavant,¹ for Duke Guidobaldo, nay, perhaps, that he installed himself in the studio of his friend and former master, Timoteo Viti.

Towards the middle of October of the same year, 1504, Raphael came for the first time to Florence. Here the works of Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo seem to have made the profoundest and most lasting impression on him. How strongly he was attracted by the grace of Leonardo, may be seen not only in several drawings of this his first Florentine period,² but quite as much in his likeness of Magdalena Doni, which involuntarily reminds one of Leonardo's portrait of Mona Lisa del Giocondo."³

Along with the portraits of the Doni couple (in the Palazzo Pitti), we may place in this period "The Madonna di Casa Tempi" (in the Munich Gallery), the so-called "Madonna del Granduca" (in the Palazzo Pitti), and the

¹ For instance, the "St. George," now in the Salon Carré of the Louvre.

² First of all, I mention that sheet with a hasty sketch, after the cartoon of Leonardo's "Fight for the Flag;" on the same page are the profile of an old man and the head of a horse, all three imitated from Leonardo. Of the same period is the study of a Male Head, which Raphael used the following year for the St. Placidus in his fresco at St. Severo, Perugia. This drawing is to be found in the Oxford collection, No. 15 Braun's Catalogue. The Dresden collection possesses a second drawing in pen and ink, after Leonardo's cartoon, No. 79 Braun's Catalogue. A third pen-drawing of this time, is the imitation of Michel Angelo's "David;" Raphael has placed the far-famed giant with his back to us. The original drawing is in the British Museum, No. 79 Braun's Catalogue.

³ The masterly drawing for this picture is in the collection of the Louvre; No. 329 Reiset Catalogue, and No. 255 Braun's Catalogue. The form of the hand is very characteristic; the management of the pen simple, firm, and sure. In the portrait of the husband, the shadows are still Peruginian black, but the landscape is Timotean again.

Madonna at Lord Cowper's, Panshanger, perhaps the most lovely of all Raphael's Madonnas. If the first two of these Madonnas remind us more of Timoteo than of Perugino,¹ the last of them sets the young artist before our eyes in the full blaze of his independence. From this picture, especially from the infant Christ, the bewitching fragrance of his godlike soul breathes upon us in all its richness. In the Madonna of the Berlin Gallery (No. 145), Raphael, still clinging to Pinturicchio, retains the arrangement (brought to Perugia from the Siena School) of the two Saints standing, one on each side of the Virgin, just as we see it in most of the Madonnas of a Tiberio d'Assisi, a Spagna, a Pinturicchio, etc. On the other hand, we observe that Raphael, from the time of his first stay at Florence, gives a greater prominence to the landscape in the background of his Madonna pictures. In all the Raphael Madonnas that date from the next few years, 1505, 1506, and 1507, for instance, that numbered 147*a* at the Berlin Gallery, the "Madonna in the Meadow" at the Belvedere, Vienna, the Madonna del Cardellino of the Tribuna, at Florence, &c., we have the Virgin and Child, with the little St. John, set before us in a cheerful open landscape. Later on, Raphael sometimes surrounds the Madonna with other members of the Holy Family, as Joseph, Elizabeth, Anna. This is just the significant turning-point in the history of Italian Art, where it *steps out of the Church*, and seeks the open air. The Madonna is *humanized*, and becomes the *tender mother*. Raphael's first residence at Florence may

¹ In the Madonna de' Tempi, as well as in that of the Granda, the dreamy, longing, languishing air of Perugino has disappeared; the flesh-tints are brighter, and more like those of Timoteo than like Perugino's darker tone. Of course, in ingenious conception, depth of feeling, and truth to nature, Raphael in both pictures leaves his former masters far behind.

have lasted till about the summer of 1505. He then returned to Perugia again, where he passed nearly a whole year before he went back to Florence. In this period, probably, are to be placed the following works: The fresco painting in the convent of S. Severo, Perugia; the so-called "Madonna in the Meadow" at the Belvedere, Vienna; and shall we say the Madonna, No. 147^a of the Berlin Gallery? For here, as in duty bound, we go on to the consideration of that "Madonna del Duca di Terranova," as it is commonly called.

If, in the Madonnas "di casa Tempi" and "del Granduca," and in the portraits of the Doni couple, we had occasion to notice a return to the manner of Timoteo; here, in "The Virgin on the Meadow," and still more in this Madonna del Duca di Terranova, we see, side by side with Florentine influences, his old Peruginian impressions reviving in Raphael; which, I am glad to say, has already been remarked by Dr. Julius Meyer. The little Putto to the left of the Virgin strongly recalls Master Pietro. The round form of the picture seems to indicate a Florentine commission. From these data we may draw the inference that the origin of this beautiful picture is to be placed in the latter part of the year 1505,—several months before that of the "Virgin in the Meadow." It need not at all surprise us that, for this painting also, Raphael should have used a drawing of his former master, Perugino, who at that time was at Florence.¹ Some months before he

¹ If we compare this timid and self-unconscious disposition which induced young Raphael, in the composition of his early works, to lean upon older and celebrated masters, with the cheerful self-reliance of his not more gifted contemporaries, such as Andrea del Sarto, Correggio, Parmegianino, we can only explain this psychological phenomenon by the modest, and so to speak, feminine nature of the glorious youth, who trusted his own powers less than those of his masters at Perugia, all so far beneath him!

executed this picture, Raphael, if I am not mistaken, had made a copy, modified to his own taste, of that drawing



Drawing by Raphael. (Lille Museum.)

by Perugino (now at Berlin); which copy of Raphael's is to be seen at Lille in a somewhat damaged condition (No.



Drawing by Perugino. (Berlin Museum.)

46 Braun's catalogue).¹ In his painting, however, Raphael has left out the St. Jerome and the angel, who in the drawing stand behind the Madonna, and has filled the

¹ I advise all my young friends to study this very interesting sketch-like drawing in pen and gypsum, and edify themselves by comparing it with the drawing of Master Perugino. Such studies may well lead to a more intimate knowledge of Raphael and his art than all printed discussions.

space in his Tondo better by introducing a Putto to the left of the Virgin.¹

I have said that Raphael borrowed his composition, not, indeed, from Pinturicchio this time, but from his master, Perugino. On comparing the photographs of the two drawings, namely, of Pietro's original drawing at Berlin, and Raphael's sketch-like copy at Lille,² the ingenious modifications that Raphael has thought fit to introduce into the original of his master appear to me to be of the highest

¹ It is curious that in the execution of this picture Raphael kept nearer to his master's original drawing than to his own modified copy. In the picture he has introduced the following modifications of the original drawing by Perugino. The attitude and gestures of the infant Christ are livelier, finer in the lines, and more natural, than in Perugino's drawing; the left foot is laid across the right, whilst in the drawing the right foot is awkwardly thrust up against the left ankle; the rigid line running from the neck to the tip of the left foot is altered in the picture, whereby the movement of the body gains in elegance. The position of the Virgin's left arm, and of her too straddling knees, so hard and ungraceful in the drawing, is thoughtfully toned down; the pose of the head, somewhat dainty and sentimental in the drawing, becomes more dignified in the painting; her left arm, with the meaningless gesture of the hand, and the stiff mantle over it, is also changed for the better; and so on. It must here be added that the Perugino drawing in question is ascribed in the Berlin Collection to Raphael himself. I think, however, that every good connoisseur of drawings will admit that it exhibits all the characteristics by which Perugino's drawings can be distinguished from those of his pupils and imitators. I will here specify only the following: The shapes of the ear and hand, which are quite those of Perugino, and not at all those of young Raphael; the leather pouch-like form of the body in the Infant Christ, as well as the expression of the face; the hard, lifeless outlines, both in the Christ and in the little St. John; the very black shadows, especially on the left cheek of St. Jerome. The bunched cross-puckers on the Virgin's knee, and on St. John's little shirt are the same that we are accustomed to see in the drawings of Perugino and also of Pinturicchio, but never in Raphael.

² Compare this drawing at Lille with the drawing at Oxford for the Madonna del Cardellino (Braun 23).



Drawing by Raphael for the Madonna del Cardellino. (Oxford.)

interest, for instance, in the attitude and gestures of St. Jerome and the Infant Christ, in the position of the Virgin's left arm, etc. He has also rightly shortened the too elongated waist of the Virgin; in a word, this hasty copy by young Raphael proclaims in a striking way the full independence and superiority which by this time he had attained over his former master.

In the summer of the year 1506, Raphael appears to have returned to Florence, leaving unfinished his wall-painting in S. Severo at Perugia. At Florence he painted, amongst other things, the beautiful so-called Madonna del Cardellino, which we can still admire, in spite of the deformities that have overlaid it. (There is a hasty pen-and-ink sketch of it at Oxford.) There, also, he began at a later time, the great altar-piece for the Dei family (No. 165 in the Palazzo Pitti), in which the influence of Fra Bartolommeo della Porta is so plainly to be traced. Unfortunately, Raphael left this picture uncompleted also, as pressing business seems to have called him back to Perugia. By this time he was a master of renown, at Florence as well as Perugia; commissions came flowing in from all sides, and he was obliged to have recourse to assistants. We must not be astonished, therefore, if many a work that issued from his studio during this period of his activity (from the end of 1506 to the middle of 1508), does not exhibit its Raphaelite paternity so purely as his earlier works.¹

¹ "Pregovi a compatirmi," writes Raphael on the 5th of September, 1508, to Francia, "e perdonarmi la dilazione e lunghezza del mio (namely the sending of his own portrait) che per le gravi e incessanti occupationi non ho potuto sin ora fare di mia mano, conforme il nostro accordo, chè ve l'avrei mandato fatto da qualche mio giovine, e da me ritoccato. (Vasari, Ediz. Le Monnier, vi. 16.)

In concluding my, perhaps, too lengthy chat on Timoteo Viti's relation to young Raphael, I beg my readers to pardon me the long explanations and digressions which were necessary for establishing my hypothesis. It may be that the result of my researches on the history of Raphael's style is an illusion. But this much will, I hope, be granted, that my hypothesis comes nearer the truth than all that Vasari, Rumohr, and Passavant have told us on the development of young Raphael.

The point I was most anxious to clear up throughout this long discussion was—that Timoteo Viti was in no case a pupil or an imitator of Raphael, and I hope I have actually proved that fact as far as lay in my power.

Before taking leave of Raphael's early works, let us give a look to the much spoilt but still charming little picture which bears the number 147, and which the Direction of the Berlin Gallery cautiously ascribe to Raphael only in a dubitative way. It represents Mary with the Infant Christ and the little St. John. It appears to me that in spite of all disfigurations there is still the Raphaelite mind shining out of this picture. The shape of the ear and that of the hands are his, the landscape in the background reminds one of the Madonna di Casa Tempi in the Munich Gallery. True, the painting has lost its epidermis; and the mouth and eyes especially are much repainted, as the catalogue is careful to inform us. If I mistake not, this painting must have taken birth a little while before the Madonna di Casa Tempi.

I see that I have lingered disproportionately long over the Umbrian School; as an indemnity, I promise to be more concise in discussing the FLORENTINE, which I can do with the clearer conscience, as no school of Italy has been more studied, or is better known.

The late Baron Rumohr, who paid special attention to the Florentine School and its endeavours, has acutely discerned in it, three main tendencies in the course of the fifteenth century. "The predominating Naturalism of the Florentines," he remarks (ii. 271), "branched out in two opposite directions: action, movement, the expression of intense and strong passions became the inheritance of the school of Fra Filippo; realistic probability, and correctness in hitting off the characteristics of individual things, were the aim of a school which began, I believe, with Cosimo Rosselli, although it shot far ahead of even his latest achievements."

"A third division of the Florentine School was directly produced by the efforts of sculptors" (ii. 287).

To the first group there belonged, in chronological order, Masolino da Panicale, Masaccio, Fra Filippo Lippi, Francesco Pesellino, Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and his school.

To the second: Alesso Baldovinetti, Cosimo Rosselli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and his brother-in-law Mainardi.

And to the third: Lorenzo Ghiberti, Antonio del Pollajuolo, Andrea del Verrocchio, and his scholars Lionardo da Vinci and Lorenzo Credi. In no gallery this side of the Alps, and only in the collections of Florence on the other side of them, is the Florentine School so richly, so favourably represented as in the halls of the Berlin Collection.

We see several genuine Madonnas by *Fra Filippo Lippi*, who seems to have modelled himself chiefly on Masaccio. No. 69 is the most characteristic of the master, and also the best preserved. Similar compositions of his are to be found in the Florentine Academy's collection.

Even more attractive to connoisseurs than the pictures

of this Carmelite, whose genius equalled his levity, are those of his pupil, *Sandro Botticelli*; and the Berlin Gallery, unlike any other, has the good fortune to possess half-a-dozen of them, some of which may be reckoned among his masterpieces.

Botticelli had several assistants and imitators, who executed pictures after his cartoons, which still pass for works of the master, not only in churches at Florence, but in public collections. They differ, however, from his original paintings, both by a rudeness of drawing and design, and by a far feebler colouring. I take this opportunity to mention a few of the most accessible of such studio-paintings, so that the student of art may examine them thoroughly. In the small church of the Conservatorio di Ripoli (Via della Scala), at Florence, a "Coronation of Mary," with many saints; in the Florentine Academy, an enthroned Madonna with her Child and Saints, among whom are Cosimus and Damianus, represented kneeling; in the Borghese Gallery, at Rome, the Tondo with the Madonna surrounded with angels (Room I.); the so-called "Abbondanza," formerly at Mr. Reiset's, now in the possession of the Duke d'Aumale.¹

Filippino Lippi is almost as fully represented in these rooms as his master, Botticelli. I call attention to the two pictures bearing the numbers 82 and 101. The former represents Mary with the Child, who is turning over the leaves of a book which the Virgin holds in her left. Forms of hand and ear very characteristic of the master. The second likewise represents the Virgin with the Infant Christ, who nestles His face caressingly against hers.

¹ All the above-named pictures are, however, considered and described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as originals by Botticelli (ii. 424, 425, 429).

Equally characteristic of its author is a charming picture by *Raffaellino del Garbo*, Filippino's scholar. It is No. 90, and represents the Virgin and Child with two angel-minstrels. I gladly join in the praise that Director Meyer, with his fine sense of art, bestows on this picture.

The *Second* group of artists designated by Rumohr is very fairly, though not quite so completely, represented here.

The two pictures of *Cosimo Rosselli*, numbered 59 and 71, are characteristic works of this master, whom I think the Baron makes too much of. In the first we see Mary in glory, with Saints; in the second the "Entombment of Christ." It is curious that this painter, so easily distinguished from his contemporaries by his noses, looking as if stuck on with rhinoplastic, by his always bushy eyebrows, his peculiar valley-landscapes, and many other characteristics, should have been presented to the public at the Uffizi Gallery ever since the time of Lanzi as *Pesello*. Even the Historians of Italian Painting have taken the false attribution for sterling coin, and ascribed to Giuliano d'Arrigo di Giuocolo Giuochi, called Pesello (born 1367), the much repainted "Adoration of the Magi" (No. 26), in the following words: "Lanzi's assertion that the Adoration of the Magi, commissioned for the Palazzo de' Signori, was preserved in the Uffizi is correct, and the student may still see, etc.—The landscape is remarkable for its excessive study of details, and painted in with the relief colour peculiar to the first Florentine efforts for the introduction of oil vehicles in tempera pictures" (ii. 360-1). The picture, painted about 1480, has been repainted all over; the master, however, is still easily recognisable, namely, in the forms, but hardly in the "oil vehicles."

The two pictures of *Pier di Cosimo*, scholar and assis-

tant of Rosselli, in possession of the Berlin Gallery, are also characteristic of the master. The picture No. 107, represents Venus, Cupid, and Mars; No. 204, "The Adoration of the Shepherds."

By far the greatest and most celebrated in this group is *Domenico Bigordi*, called *del Ghirlandajo*. By him is the upper part of the picture No. 83, "Mary and Child in glory, with Saints." Another genuine work of the master is the small picture, "Judith with her Maid" (No. 21). In this designation I fully share the opinion of the editors of the Berlin catalogue, while Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are in favour of ascribing the picture merely to the *school* of Ghirlandajo (ii. 492).

As studio pictures of Domenico are to be considered: the "Enthroned Madonna with the Child and Saints" (No. 84), and the "Resurrection of Christ" (No. 75), as well as the "St. Vincentius Ferrerius" (No. 74), and the "St. Antony" (No. 76). The two latter, which have been wings of an altar-piece, betray the hand of *Francesco Granacci*, a conjecture for which the catalogue gives convincing reasons.

To *Bastiano Mainardi*, another pupil, and at the same time brother-in-law, of Ghirlandajo, who at times comes very near the master, Director Meyer has, with perfect justice, assigned the "Enthroned Mary with the Child and Saints," No. 68; an opinion which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to share (ii. 491).

Of *Ridolfo*, son of Domenico Ghirlandajo, the Berlin Gallery also possesses a good picture (No. 91). It represents the "Veneration of the Infant Christ," painted about 1506—1510. I do not know of any reason why Cosimo Rosselli should have been mentioned, in the catalogue, as one of the masters of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. Vasari, who

knew Ridolfo personally, says not a word about Rosselli; neither have the early works of Ridolfo a single feature that reminds us of Cosimo Rosselli. Until the death of his father Domenico, that is, till the year 1494, he certainly remained his pupil, a fact which is proved by the drawings of the two masters.¹ After the father's death, his favourite pupil Granacci may very likely have carried on Ridolfo's education; and this is proved, better than words could prove it, by two small panels, each with three adoring angels. These two paintings may be seen in the room of the so-called Small Pictures of the Academy at Florence under the name of Granacci. Besides Granacci, Pier di Cosimo must also have had an influence on the artistic career of Ridolfo. The landscapes in the early pictures of the latter are as good as copied from those of Pier di Cosimo.

But when Leonardo da Vinci came and settled at Florence in 1503, certainly none contributed so much as he to form young Ridolfo, then twenty years old. In this Leonardine period of our artist, I place, amongst others, the following pictures, in all of which, Leonardo's influence is more or less visible. They are, one and all, still at Florence, and therefore easily accessible.

(1) "The Annunciation" (No. 1288), in the Uffizi Gallery. A few years ago this picture came from the sacristy of the convent church of Montoliveto (near Florence) to the Uffizi Gallery, under the name of Ghirlandajo; presently, though still doubtfully, it was ascribed by the then direc-

¹ In the collection of the Corsini library at Rome are two such drawings, one by Ridolfo, the other by Domenico. Even his early work in the choir of St. Domenico at Pistoja (Saints Sebastian, Jerome, and a third), proves Ridolfo's descent from Domenico. The St. Jerome is taken from the father's fresco at Ognissanti, Florence.

tors of the gallery, Messrs. Gotti and Campana, to the great Leonardo da Vinci. The funeral urn¹ of stone introduced in the picture, such as is often met with in Domenico's pictures, might of itself have made those gentlemen pause before delivering such a verdict. The shape of the hands, too, especially the long fingers with the ugly nails, reminds one rather strongly of the hands in (2) the "Portrait of a Goldsmith" (No. 207, Palazzo Pitti). The question is: Is this picture really a work of Leonardo, as Signor Chiavacci's catalogue would have us believe, or is it rather an early work of our Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo? In spite of repaint and dirt, one still recognises in the landscape background and in the yellow rocks, the imitator of Pier di Cosimo. Then the modelling of the head and the formation of the hand are exactly the same as we see in Ridolfo's early work at the house of Cavaliere Niccolò Antinori (Via de' Servi, Florence).² Nowhere can we get to know Ridolfo's early period better than in the picture just named, which represents (3) the "Walk to Calvary," and was painted for the Antinori house in 1505. Here we have before us about seventeen pretty large figures with a great many small ones. On the hair of the young man with red and white striped hose, and a lance in his hand, the lights are laid on exactly as they are on the angel's head in the "Annunciation" (No. 1288) at the Uffizi. The shapes of the hands and fingers are the same as those we see in the above-named "Annunciation," in the "Portrait of a Goldsmith," at the Pitti; in (4) the "Angels" at the Academy, in (5) the "Madonna with the Marriage of St. Catherine," at the

¹ Compare the drawing by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo at the Uffizi Gallery (Philpot 678), which might be a study for the "Annunciation."

² Now at the National Gallery, London.

church of the Conservatorio in Ripoli (Via della Scala),¹ and also in (6) a "Male Portrait," No. 318, at the Louvre, there ascribed to Francia, but which I unhesitatingly pronounce to be by our Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo. The head of Longinus, with the fantastically shaped helmet, reminds one much of Leonardo da Vinci, and so does his horse. The cross-puckers on the sleeve of Veronica are the same as those we noticed on the sleeve of the Madonna in the "Annunciation" at the Uffizi; and so on.

To the same Leonardesque period of Ridolfo belong the (7) so-called portrait of Girolamo Benivieni, in the collection of Marchese Torrigiani at Florence (Room II., No. 9), there ascribed to Leonardo. It represents an old man in a black cap and black clothes. In all these youthful works the usually defective drawing stands in singular contrast with the beauty of the heads in the figures.

In Ridolfo's works of the years 1506 to 1510, we remark, on the contrary, the influence, partly of Fra Bartolommeo, and partly of his friend and contemporary Raphael Sanzio, who at that period was making studies, apparently with Ridolfo, on the celebrated cartoon of Leonardo da Vinci.² Out of these art studies, jointly pursued, there sprang up, as Vasari tells us, an ardent friendship between the two congenial youths. That such an intimacy with the far more talented Raphael could not fail to influence Ridolfo, is natural; and several paintings of this early

¹ This altar-piece stands opposite the picture of Botticelli. Besides St. Catherine we see in it five other Saints. The landscape is still very like those of Pier di Cosimo. The head of St. Catherine, though not so lovely as that of the Madonna in the Annunciation, nevertheless reminds us of this master. In the same church are also four single figures of Saints by the hand of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo.

² An instance of these several influences is his picture in the Church of San Pietro at Pistoja.

period of the master seem to furnish evidence of such an influence. Amongst others, besides the very good painting (No. 91) in the Berlin Gallery, there is the "Madonna with St. Elizabeth and the little St. John" (No. 1110) in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery, there erroneously ascribed to Orazio Alfani.¹

Vasari relates in his life of Domenico Puligo (viii. 131, 132), that Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo always employed a number of young painters in his studio, and further, that they executed many pictures for him which were then sent out under high-sounding names to England, Germany, and Spain. Of these assistants of Ridolfo, Vasari names amongst others—Baccio Gotti, Toto del Nunziata, Antonio del Cerajuolo, Domenico Puligo. To one or another of these painters may belong many a picture that is exhibited in public or private galleries as the work of Andrea del Sarto, of Fra Bartolommeo, or of Franciabigio.

¹ Most probably, I think, by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. Compare it with his paintings executed a few years after, in the same gallery; Nos. 1275 and 1277. Compare also the treatment of the grass in the foreground with that in the foreground of the "Annunciation," No. 1288. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (iii. 370), designate this picture "a fine Perugian work in Domenico Alfani's style." The Florentine commentators of Vasari pronounce it an "opera certa" of Orazio Alfani, yet, a few pages after, they maintain that the only certain work of Orazio Alfani is the "Christ crucified, with Saints Jerome and Apollonius," in the Church of San Francesco at Perugia, of the year 1553. Passavant also (i. 480) looks upon this picture in the Tribuna as a work of Orazio Alfani, remarking that it is composed altogether in the manner of Raphael, and that the landscape with the precipitous rocks reminds one of Pinturicchio. At the Town Gallery of Perugia they claim the "Halt on the Flight to Egypt" (No. 11 at the Sala di Orazio Alfani) as the only authentic work of Orazio Alfani. The Gallery at Pesth has an "Adoration of the Shepherds," of 1510 (much repainted), eight figures in all, with three angels in the air. Signed: "Ridolfus Grillandajus Florentinus faciebat, Instante Joanne Italiano Peri, M.D.X."

Having named *Franciabigio*, I must not fail to mention that the Berlin Gallery possesses a fine Male Portrait by him (No. 245); it is marked with his name and the date 1522. The catalogue also ascribes to this master another portrait, hanging close by, of a young man with long brown hair and black cap (No. 245a). But this beautiful and interesting portrait betrays, both in the modelling and in the laying on of the colours, another school than the Florentine, namely, that of Perugia. The shape of the hand, and the landscape background,¹ point to the manner of Pinturicchio; whilst everything else, especially those pointed, fan-shaped, reddish-yellow lights on the foliage, rising in layers one above another, those little trees with tall stems and brownish-yellow leaves, that reddened horizon, as well as the black shadows in this capital picture, seem to bespeak the hand of a little known but very able scholar of Pinturicchio, namely, *Matteo Balducci*, of Fontignano, in the neighbourhood of Perugia.² This is easily proved by a comparison of this painting at the

¹ The landscapes of Franciabigio, such as we find in some of his pictures, for instance, that with the so-called "Temple of Hercules" in the Uffizi, No. 1223, and in what is called the "Madonna del Pozzo," in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, all resemble more or less the landscapes of Pier di Cosimo, in whose school must be classed as landscape painters, not only Franciabigio, but also Pontormo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and Andrea del Sarto. (See my pamphlet on the Borghese Gallery.)

² Matteo must have been born between 1480 and 1490. (See Vasari, Ediz. le Monnier, xi. 164.) This Matteo, a scholar of Pinturicchio, and most likely one of his coadjutors in the frescoes of the Libreria at Siena, is not to be confounded (as the commentators of Vasari have done) with another Matteo di Giuliano di Lorenzo di Balduccio, a pupil of Sodoma, and likewise from Fontignano. To the first Matteo, and not to Pinturicchio, belongs, I think, the crayon drawing at the Uffizi (frame 83), representing a woman with a satyr, and two naked men, one of them carrying a child on his shoulder.

Berlin Gallery with Matteo Balducci's works in the gallery of the Siena Academy, as also with a panel-painting (Clelia and one of her companions crossing the Tiber on horseback) in the author's collection at Milan.

I take this opportunity to add that the totally repainted portrait in the Uffizi (No. 32) can hardly be from the hand of Franciabigio, as stated in the Berlin catalogue.

Franciabigio was a first-rate draughtsman, as is proved by the beautiful male head in the collection of drawings at the Louvre (No. 93, Braun's catalogue); a smaller drawing in chalk, also characteristic of the master, is to be found amongst the Raphael drawings in the Wicar collection at Lille (Braun's catalogue, No. 91).¹

Another distinguished Florentine portrait painter, of a somewhat later period, was Agnolo di Cosimo, called *Il Bronzino*. Also by this elegant master, the Parmigianino of the Florentine School, there is a good picture in the Berlin Gallery. It is the portrait of Ugolino Martelli (No. 338a). Bronzino was received into the Academy of the Crusca because of his literary attainments.

Let us, lastly, take a brief survey of those pictures in

¹ The shape of the ear in Franciabigio is enough to distinguish his drawings both from those of his prototype, Andrea del Sarto, and those of his pupil, Francesco Ubertini, called *Bacchiacca*. The Uffizi collection at Florence has several female heads by this latter master, under the name of Michelangelo; they are studies for his fine painting of Moses smiting the water out of the rock, in the possession of Prince Giovanelli at Venice. *Bacchiacca's* drawing has been photographed by Philpot (under the name of Michelangelo), and is No. 1188 in his catalogue. The Louvre collection possesses two genuine drawings of this rare master (black chalk and gypsum), Nos. 352 and 353 of Reiset's catalogue. They represent episodes in the life of Joseph in Egypt. Also the author has at Milan a fine drawing in red chalk by *Bacchiacca*—a study for one of his paintings in the Gallery Borghese. In this latter drawing *Bacchiacca* shows himself strongly influenced by Pontormo.

the collection which belong to what Baron Rumohr designates the *Third* branch of the Florentine School in the fifteenth century, namely, that directly produced by the efforts of the sculptors. Its chief representatives are Antonio del Pollajuolo, Andrea del Verrocchio, Leonardo da Vinci, and Lorenzo Credi.

Jacopo, the father of Antonio and Piero *Pollajuolo*, was a goldsmith, and his elder son *Antonio* was, after the manner of those times, brought up to his father's business. Then, according to Vasari, Antonio's studies took a wider scope under a man famous in his day—Bartoluccio Ghiberti (stepfather of the great Ghiberti). It was not until later that Antonio took to painting, as is evidenced by his "Labours of Hercules," in the Uffizi, No. 1153. But neither harmony of colours nor grace was the strong point of this master. Like his great contemporary Mantegna, he aimed, above all, to conceive and represent *character* in men and things. Among his countrymen he passed for the foremost draughtsman of his time,¹ and such he proves himself, not only in his drawings, but also in his rare engravings.

His brother *Piero*, about eight years younger, devoted himself to painting, but, to judge by his works, not under the guidance of the rugged Andrea del Castagno, as Vasari seems to think, but, what looks likelier to me, in the studio of Alesso Baldovinetti.²

¹ See Vasari, v., 92, 98, 102.

² The fresco paintings, as well as the panel picture of the "Angel's Salutation," in the Chapel del Cardinale del Portogallo in S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, were through an oversight ascribed by Vasari to Piero del Pollajuolo, whereas they have all the characteristics of Baldovinetti. Though Albertini had in his "Memoriale" (p. 17) rightly assigned them to the latter painter, the art critics, not excepting Rumohr, have here also blindly followed the Aretine.

Be that as it may, this much seems to me certain, that for most of the early works of Piero, his brother Antonio must have furnished the cartoons. This is proved by forms quite peculiar to Antonio appearing in pictures of Piero. I allow myself to name a few of these, so that my friends may be better able to judge for themselves.

In the excellent picture with the Saints Eustace, James, and Vincent (No. 1301 in the Uffizi), which once adorned the altar in the chapel of the Cardinal del Portogallo, both the oval of St. Vincent's face and the shape of St. Eustace's hand are altogether those of Antonio, and Vasari, in mentioning this picture (v. 95), says expressly: "*Ed unitosi Antonio in tutto con Piero lavorarono in compagnia di molte pitture, fra le quali fecero al Cardinale del Portogallo una tavola a olio in S. Miniato al Monte, e vi dipinsero dentro S. Jacopo, S. Eustachio e S. Vincenzo,*" etc.

The drawing and the rendering of form in the well-known "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," at the National Gallery, London, likewise recalls Antonio,¹ whilst it is highly probable that Piero took part in the execution. The "Angel with Tobias" at the Turin Gallery, and the allegorical figure called "Prudentia," No. 1306, in the Uffizi, may likewise belong to this series of pictures that Piero executed in common with his brother Antonio.

Lastly, I think I can say the same of the "Annunciation" (No. 73) in the Berlin Gallery. This good picture, characteristic of Antonio as regards the forms (hand and oval of the face), formerly bore even the name of the elder brother, and that with as much right as it

¹ A study for the figure of the Sebastian, slightly sketched with the pen, and lightly washed with Indian ink, is in the possession of the author. This drawing is unmistakably by Antonio.

now bears the name of the younger, Piero, to whom is certainly to be ascribed the execution in colours.

While, therefore, I willingly concede to the editors of the catalogue that the *colouring* in this picture recalls that of Piero's "Coronation of Mary" in the Collegiata of S. Gimignano, I cannot share their opinion that the *type* and *attitude* of the Mary are equally suggestive of Piero. If I am unable entirely to agree with Messrs. Meyer and Bode in their criticisms about picture No. 73, it is equally impossible for me not to differ from them in the judgment they pass on Nos. 104*a* and 108 in the Berlin Gallery, No. 296 in the National Gallery, London, and No. 8 in the Städel Institute at Frankfurt.

The two eminent art-critics at Berlin believe that the Virgin and Child (No. 104*a*) is to be assigned to *Andrea del Verrocchio* himself, but that the other Madonna (No. 108), as well as the above-named pictures in the National Gallery and the Städel Institute, belong merely to the *school* of Verrocchio.

On comparing all these four pictures with one another, it strikes me that they must all have come out of the same master's workshop.¹ In all four of them I recognise the

¹ I call attention to the following characteristic signs: the pointed faun-like *ear*, like that of the kneeling saint with the crosier in Piero Pollajuolo's painting at S. Gimignano; the *nails* cut sharp and with black contour, as in the "Prudenza" (No. 1306) at the Uffizi, the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," in London, and the "Tobias with the Angel," at Turin; the *thumb* bent back convulsively, like that of St. Antony in the S. Gimignano picture; the rather long and Correggiesque *folds*, similar to those on the Angel's mantle at the National Gallery, No. 781 (which picture evidently belongs, if not to the same master, at any rate to the same studio as No. 296), and to those in P. Pollajuolo's "Coronation of Mary," S. Gimignano. All these features speak more for the studio of Piero del Pollajuolo than for that of Verrocchio. I have yet to mention, that both in the Turin picture and in No. 781 of

An old proverb characterizes the different provinces of the former republic as follows:—

Veneziani, gran Signori.

Padovani, gran Dottori.

Vicentini, magnagatti (cat-eaters, *i.e.*, shabby-genteel).

Veronesi, mezzo matti (free from care, light-hearted).

Bresciani, spacca cantoni (swash-bucklers).

Bergamaschi, facoglioni (acting the fool in order to over-reach).

And, in truth, the Venetians were grand gentlemen, gran signori, aristocrats in the good sense of the word. The Genoese, their rivals, are known in history always as shrewd, enterprising merchants and clever sailors; the Venetians were not only that, but also lordly, like the English of our own day. And Venetian Art gives the most brilliant proofs of this fact.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the school of painting of Venice Town stood far below its school of sculptors. The painters De Flor (Francesco and his son Jacobello), Jacobello de Bonomo,¹ and other picture-makers of even less merit, represented pictorial art at Venice, when Gentile da Fabriano, and his still more important fellow-labourer, the Veronese Vittor Pisano, called Pisanello,² were invited to Venice about the year 1419

¹ There is a large authentic work of Jacobello de Flor in the sacristy of the Ceneda Cathedral; one of Jacobello de Bonomo, dated 1385, in the church of S. Arcangelo, not far from Rimini.

² Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are accustomed in their voluminous work on Italian Painting to regard a school of painting not as a living organic whole sprung out of the soil, but rather as an accidental conglomeration of artists who might have been born and bred in Apulia as well as in Tuscany, in Finland as well as in Italy. Thus, they make the great Veronese, Vittor Pisano, on the one hand, proceed from a school of miniaturists (!), and, on the other, educate himself as an artist in Umbria, and afterwards at Florence (i. 450-51-52). In sup-

with the commission to decorate with paintings one room in the Palazzo Ducale.

The presence of these two eminent artists in the City of the Lagoons gave also a new impulse to its school of painting. Jacopo Bellini became a scholar of Gentile, and when his master had finished his work at Venice, he accompanied him to Florence. During the few years of their stay at Venice, Gentile and Pisanello must not only have instructed Bellini in their art, but their influence on Giambono, and especially on Antonio Vivarini of Murano, also seems to me to be undeniable.

It was in the thirties of that century that Antonio founded the far-famed picture-manufactory of Murano, in

port of their somewhat singular theory, they ascribe to him pictures which are indeed erroneously attributed to him at the Municipal Gallery of Verona, where they are at present, but which do not belong to him.

The *peacock* introduced in the "Madonna with St. Catherine" (No. 52) ought of itself to have taught these gentlemen that the picture belonged to *Stefano da Zevio*, not to the so-called Pisanello. According to the Abbate Giacomo Morelli, Vittor Pisano must have been born in the village of S. Vigilio, near the Lago di Garda (*see* Anonimo Morelliano), in 1380, and have died between the years 1451—55. Biondo of Forli, who wrote his "Italia Illustrata" about 1450, says in it:—"Pictoriæ artis peritum Verona superiori saeculo habuit Aticherium; sed unus superest, qui fama ceteros nostri seculi faciliter antecessit, *Pisanus* nomine."

Facio of Genoa, who wrote his book "De Viris Illustribus" between 1455 and 1457, says of Pisano:—"Mantuae ædiculum pinxit, et tabulas valde laudatas. Pinxit Venetiis in palatio Fridericum Barbarussam Romanorum Imperatorem, et ejusdem filium supplicem, etc.; pinxit et Romae in Joannis Laterani templo, quae Gentilis de Joannis Baptistæ historia inchoata reliquerat, quod tamen opus postea, quantum ex eo audiui, parietis humectatione paene oblitteratum est. Sunt ejus ingenii atque artis exemplaria aliquot picturæ in tabellulis ac membranulis, in quis Hieronymus Christum crucifixum adorans, ipso gestu et oris majestate venerabilis, etc. Picturæ adjecit fingendi artem, etc." Pisano also painted in the Castello of Pavia. Lionello d'Este wrote of him:—"Pisanus omnium pictorum hujusce ætatis egregius." (*See* Maffei, par. iii. cap. vi. col. 153.)

which a German, apparently of the school of Cologne, the well-known Joannes Alemannus, found employment about 1440. From this art-factory, which provided everything that was needed for the adornment of a church-altar, there afterwards came forth the painters Bartolommeo Vivarini, a younger brother of Antonio, Alvise Vivarini, Andrea da Murano, and others.¹

The Berlin collection possesses, in the "Adoration of the Kings" (No. 5), by far the most interesting work of *Antonio da Murano*. It is a painting of his early period, about 1435 to 1440. In this picture, so valuable to art-history, we fail to discover the slightest influence of John Alemannus, a painter surely much overrated by modern writers; but we do see very marked traces of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello da Verona. The landscape in the background is altogether in Gentile's manner, and the work is an infallible proof that Antonio must have been *already an accomplished artist* when he founded with John Alemannus the well-known studio at Murano.

In the same gallery there is also an excellent picture by *Bartolommeo*, the younger brother and partly a pupil of Antonio. I do not mean the "St. George" (No. 1160), a mere "studio-work" of the master,² but the interesting

¹ John Alemannus and John de Muriano are one and the same person; neither were there two painters Alvise Vivarini, an elder and a younger, as is alleged.

² The pictures executed wholly or mostly by the master himself, *never* have a landscape in the background, but either gold or air; and are moreover easily distinguished from works that assistants finished from his cartoons, by their delicacy and precision of modelling and execution. While the latter have merely the inscription, "Factum per Bartholomeum," etc., those painted by Bartolommeo himself bear the signature, "Bartholomeus de Muriano pinxit," or else "Opus Bartholomei de M." Yet I see that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle make no distinction

and highly characteristic picture representing Mary with the Child, who sits, clothed, on the balustrade before her; above her a festoon of fruit (No. 27). In the catalogue this picture is, unfortunately, still ascribed to Andrea Mantegna; even Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle agree with this verdict, and what is more, they would fain recognise in the picture the Madonna painted by Mantegna for Matteo Bosso, Abbot of Fiesole (ii. 386).¹

Whether Bartolommeo Vivarini afterwards (?) came under the influence of Donatello, and even of Antonello da Messina, is what we need not stop to argue. What would serious critics say if somebody were to explain to

whatever between the studio-works, more or less rough according to the price charged, and the more delicate paintings executed by the master himself (i. 47 and 48).

¹ The modelling of the face and the drawing of the folds in this picture have not the fine plastic precision which is never wanting in paintings by Mantegna, also the oval of Mary's face is too full for the Paduan, though quite in harmony with the Madonna type of Vivarini, whose outlines, too, are always drawn darker. Then the swollen knuckles, the sharp-pointed fingers, the bronze-coloured nimbus, the red of the Virgin's dress, &c., make it easy to distinguish the Muranese from the Paduan. Even the shape of the cartellino (label) speaks for Bartolommeo Vivarini, whereas Mantegna *never* signs his name on cartellini. Very likely before this Madonna was dubbed a work of Mantegna's, the label bore the inscription, "Bartholomeus de Muriano, p." Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who look upon this picture as Mantegna's, believe, moreover, that they can fix even the year in which it was painted, namely, 1464, the very time when Mantegna was painting his splendid Triptych in the Tribuna of the Uffizi (i. 386). If in this Madonna our historians have confounded B. Vivarini with Mantegna, they have made a similar mistake at Pavia, where a *forged* signature on a Madonna of B. Vivarini has induced them to assign it in their inventory to Giambellino (i. 153). The said picture is in the Malaspina collection at Pavia, No. 9. If I am not mistaken, these frequent qui-pro-quo's are due partly to their influence-theory, and partly to their total neglect of the various forms prevalent in these three masters.

the public that Goethe, for instance, wrote this or that poem under the influence of Herder, Wieland, Bürger, Rousseau, Sterne, and so on? It is certainly possible, but who can prove it? The great thing is to prove your theorems. But let us go back to our Muranese.

The Enthroned Mary with the Child and Saints (No. 38), by *Alvise Vivarini*, is in my eyes not only the most important work of that master, but one of the most important productions of Venetian art in the fifteenth century. Alvise is as noble and vigorous in this painting as Bartolommeo Montagna, and besides Giovanni Bellini I do not know of any master at Venice who could have produced such a painting in the last decade of the fifteenth century. No doubt the Muranese painters are better represented in these rooms than anywhere else.

We find in this gallery two works of *Marco Basaiti*, scholar and assistant of Alvise Vivarini, as the catalogue correctly calls him: The "Lamentation over the Body of Christ" (No. 6), and a "Saint Sebastian" (No. 37), a much-restored work of the master.

Of other pupils of Alvise Vivarini, such as Jacopo da Valenza, Lazzaro Sebastiani, Bernardo Parentino, Girolamo Moceto,¹ there are, as far as I know, no pictures in

¹ Following Bernasconi, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle count the celebrated engraver Hieronymus Mocetus among the Veronese. Unfortunately, I cannot share their opinion on this point either. Surely the circumstance that in a church at Verona there is a signed picture of Moceto cannot be considered a proof of his being a Veronese. Moceto as an artist is thoroughly Venetian, and I presume that he was born either at Murano or at Venice. All his works prove it. In all probability Alvise Vivarini must have been his master. The large glass window at S. Giovanni e Paolo (whose inscription, added only at the beginning of this century, has misled all the writers on art), belongs entirely to Moceto. Vasari also mentions him as an assistant of Giambellino (Vol. 12 Ed. Le Monnier).

the Berlin collection. On the other hand, I found in these rooms a "Christ with the two Disciples at Emmaus" (No. 1), by *Marco Marziale*, a contemporary of the above-named painters. But, leaving all these second and third-rate painters, let us now examine the works which this gallery contains of the greatest of all Venetian artists, *Giovanni Bellino*.

The Berlin catalogue states that Giambellino may perhaps have been born at Rome, not at Venice, as has been generally accepted until now; for the present let us leave this brand-new theory in quarantine.¹

Take him all in all, Giambellino is, as I have said, the greatest artist of Northern Italy in the fifteenth century.

Vittor Pisano was indeed, in some respects, as much a pioneer for his age, that is, for the *first* half of the fifteenth century, as Giambellino was in the second half; look at his capital fresco in S. Anastasia at Verona, of St. George after his victory over the Dragon; also at his highly interesting pen-drawings in the so-called Vallardi collection of drawings at the Louvre, and his other drawings in the Ambrosiana at Milan; to say nothing of his splendid medals. Andrea Mantegna is more energetic, imposing, and learned than Giambellino; he also brings the moment of action before our eyes with greater vividness and realistic truth. But, after all, Pisanello and Mantegna evince a certain monotony in conception and representation, while Giovanni Bellino as an artist displays the greatest variety. From his thirtieth year, *i.e.* from 1456, down to his last known

¹ Gentile da Fabriano, the master of Jacopo Bellini, did certainly live at Rome from about 1430 until his death, which must have taken place about 1440. But during the years 1425—27 he was employed at Orvieto. It is not very likely either that Jacopo Bellini dragged his wife and children about the world with him.

works of 1513 and 1514 (S. Giovan Crisostomo at Venice, and the Bacchanal at the Duke of Northumberland's), he is in continual growth, in one unceasing evolution, so that Dürer was quite right when, in 1506, he pronounced him the "best" painter in Venice. Giambellino is serious and grave, graceful and loving, naïve and simple, each in its right place, and when the subject demands it. His women and children, his old men and youths, are never the same, and seldom have a similar type or expression.

All this may be said without wishing in the least to detract from the eminent merits of the great Mantegna; the fact is, I am not one of those critics who look to find all excellences in any one extraordinary individual. Nay, I believe that certain gifts of mind and disposition positively exclude others, and that neither Mantegna nor Michelangelo would have attained the pinnacle of greatness in their style, had the Graces stood beside their cradle. To make myself better understood, I would say: Had Bismarck possessed all those qualities which some of his opponents sadly *miss* in him, the unity of Germany would hardly have become a fact.

During the period when it was the principal endeavour of art to portray *character*, Giambellino is, after Mantegna, the greatest drawer of character in Northern Italy; later on, when it became the principal task of art to represent emotions of the soul, he is second to none in rendering maternal love, piety, the artless gaiety of childhood, as also religious humility in women, and holy fervour in men. Bellini is never dramatic, yet his saints are all full of life, energy, and dignity.

The works of Giambellino began, very soon after his death, to be confounded with those of his scholars and imitators; nay, some of the latter, to insure a readier

market and higher price for their own wares, did not hesitate to mark them with the master's name. These forged signatures (*cartellini*) are, however, easily distinguished from the genuine, and still more easily the pictures themselves.¹

Whilst, on the one hand, many pictures by scholars and imitators are ascribed to the master himself, there are, on the other hand, not a few early works of his which are to this day attributed, some indeed to a Mantegna or Ercole Roberti, but many to inferior masters, a Francesco Maria Pennacchi, a Zaganelli, Rondinelli, and the like. To make it easier for my young friends to distinguish the works of Giambellino from those of Mantegna, with whom he is mostly confounded at one stage of his career (1460—1480), I will here mention some easily discernible test-marks which struck me during my own studies. These hints, of course, are only for beginners: it would be ridiculous to offer such A B C work to the great educated Art-public of civilized Europe!

The shapes of the hand and ear are very different in the two masters. In Giambellino the ear is round and fleshy, in Mantegna longish and gristly; the hand and fingers, on the contrary, are shorter and more fleshy in Mantegna, more bony and pointed and with strongly-marked joints in Giambellino. In the pictures of this latter master (till about the first years of the sixteenth century, when his landscapes become *realistic*), the background generally

¹ I have already had the opportunity of drawing the attention of my readers to the fact that, in the first place, the *Cartellini* of Giambellino when in *italics*, are always forged; and secondly, that in his own *genuine* signatures one of the two L's is always higher than the other. But in genuine *Cartellini* that have been touched up, the restorer has not seldom shortened the taller L, so as to give them both the regulation height.

represents a plain with rivulets, fortified places in the middle distance, and mountains behind; for the most part a winding road *meanders* through the middle and foreground. The colours in these landscapes were originally pale green in the foreground and dark green in the middle; but these colours have become so oxydized in course of time, that now they generally look black.¹

Mantegna had not much feeling for lines in landscape, or for colours either. His landscape backgrounds generally represent a fortified place on a steep hill, with a winding path leading to it; sometimes, also, jagged masses of rock.

Now, as the greater part of Giambellino's pictures are thickly painted over, it is often his most characteristic and strongly-marked forms that have been toned down by restoration, to suit the rules of the various schools, so that they do not readily strike the eye. If, therefore, we would study the master in his rendering of forms, we must look up his early works painted "a tempera," which are less injured than the works of his later periods, these being all glazed with oil colours, and nearly all obliterated by the restorer.

And this remark applies not only to the works of Giambellino, but to those of all the great Venetian masters of

¹ In the Contarini hall of the Venetian Academy we do see a *realistically* coloured landscape in a Madonna of Giambellino's (No. 94), signed and dated 1487; but whoever narrowly examines the signature will, I think, agree with me that it is apocryphal. In my opinion this picture of Giambellino's belongs to the early years of the sixteenth century, about 1503 or 1504; compare with it the great altar-piece at S. Zaccaria of the year 1505. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 166) call the picture "Giorgionesque." For the rest, I make bold to remark, that this Madonna is far too much restored and repainted for anyone to be able seriously to give an opinion on the "touch of the trees."

that period. It is in their early works that the peculiarities of each as an artist are most prominent. If the "Pietà" in the Brera at Milan (No. 278), and the "Transfiguration" in the Gallery of Naples, had not been signed with the master's name, they, too, would most likely have been handed over to Mantegna, as is the case with so many other paintings of that period by Bellini. I need only mention here, as instances of such blundering, the "Agony in the Garden," at the National Gallery, London, (No. 726), the "Transfiguration" in the Correr Museum, Venice (No. 14), as well as the "Pietà" at Sign. Menghini's at Mantua, and another "Pietà" at the Vatican Gallery.¹

The Lamentation over Christ was during a certain period (1460—1470) a favourite subject with the master. Two of these "Pietà" are to be found in the Correr Museum at Venice. One of the two (No. 27) bears the forged cipher of Albrecht Dürer, and is ascribed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pietro Maria Pennacchi (ii. 227). It is very similar to the picture at the Berlin Gallery (No. 28), and might very well be of the same period. The other "Pietà" (No. 18) is so much disfigured by coarse painting that one can hardly recognise in it the master.

To a still earlier period of Giambellino I would assign

¹ This coarse-grained painting at the Vatican is in my opinion only a studio-picture or a copy (after an original by Giambellino), most probably by *Giovanni Buonconsigli*, called *Il Marescalco*. Compare, for instance, the head of the Magdalen in this "Pietà" with the head of the Saint in picture No. 272 at the Academy of Venice. Some years ago I saw a second and still weaker copy of the same subject (under the name of Giambellino) in the Costabili collection at Ferrara. And it may have been this latter picture that induced Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to ascribe the painting at Rome to Giovanni Bellini (i. 157).

the little picture of "Christ Crucified," at the Museo Correr, No. 46. This very characteristic and well preserved tempera picture, which strongly reminds us of Giovanni's father, Jacopo, is likewise assigned at Venice to Mantegna. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 534), on the contrary, ascribe it to Ercole Roberti of Ferrara.

Another early work of our master is the overpainted, but still attractive, Madonna (No. 372), at the Academy of Venice: Mary with the sleeping Child on her knees. We find the same motive repeated in the beautiful picture of Bartolommeo Vivarini, of the year 1464, at the same gallery (No. 1).

If I have lingered over these interesting and for the most part grossly misunderstood works of Giambellino's early period somewhat longer than time and space would permit, it has been purely in the hope of inducing some young student to bestow a more searching investigation than has hitherto been done on this great master and his school.

Let us now examine those works of his which the Berlin Gallery boasts of possessing. The catalogue names no less than four, namely:

(1) The "Lamentation over Christ" (No. 4). This picture, though greatly painted over, seems an original work of the master.

(2) The "Virgin and Child" (No. 10), on the other hand, I consider a mere studio-picture. The original painting is in private possession at Milan. Another much over-painted studio-picture with the same subject hangs in the picture-gallery of the Town Library, Treviso.¹ As for

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle speak of both pictures as original works of Giambellino's (i. 152 and 153).

this Berlin picture, it is hung too high to enable me to judge of the minuter details.

(3) The "Virgin and Child" (No. 11) appears to me to be also a studio-picture. The original might well be the much over-painted picture (No. 94), with the forged signature and date 1487, in the Academy of Venice.

(4) Very noble, on the contrary, is the "Pietà" (No. 28), the dead Christ supported and bewailed by two angels. I cannot help heartily eulogizing the directors of the gallery for their courage in restoring to its rightful owner this beautiful and characteristic picture, which until then had been assigned to Mantegna.¹

The "Pietà" in the Brera at Milan is of an earlier date than this one. A similar "Pietà," under the name of Mantegna, is owned by Signor Menghini of Mantua, though much daubed over and disfigured. Of all the Pietà representations by the master, the noblest in my eyes is the one at the Town Hall of Rimini. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however (i. 191), would dispute Giambellino's claim to this delicate and deeply-felt picture, assigning it to that very insignificant painter, Zaganelli of Cotignola. In this they greatly wrong not only Bellini, but Vasari; for Messer Giorgio, besides quoting the picture as a work of Giambellino's, expressly asserts that it was painted for Sigismondo Malatesta, and therefore before 1468, the year of Sigismondo's death.²

Of the numerous scholars and imitators of Giambellino,

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to ascribe this picture to Bonsignori (i. 387, i).

² "Fece in Arimino al Signor Sigismondo Malatesta una Pietà con due (there are three) puttini che la reggono, la quale è oggi in S. Francesco di quella città." (Vasari, Ed. le Monnier, v. 17.) It is only the Aretine's carelessness that makes him say two angels instead of three.

not a few are represented in the rooms of the Berlin Gallery.

Of the dignified, but rather one-sided *Cima da Conegliano*, there is under No. 2 an enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints, and two good Madonnas under Nos. 7 and 17.

Of *Pier Maria Pennacchi* there is a "Pietà" under No. 1166, Christ in the Tomb, supported by Angels. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 227) speak in words of praise of this youthful work of Pennacchi, an appreciation with which we entirely agree; but they add, that the early works of this Trevisan are so different from his later ones, that they would have doubted the genuineness of the picture had it not been for the signature. They explain this phenomenon by supposing that Pennacchi, before entering the studio of Bellini, must have been under the influence of the school of Squarcione at Padua—a circumstance which would give his works that "mixed Transalpine and Paduan look" which makes the pictures of so many early painters of Northern Italy so unattractive. Pennacchi (say they) must have painted the "Pietà" with the forged Dürer-monogram (now at the Museo Correr, No. 27) very soon after coming from Padua to Venice, for, while the picture by its refined style betrays the influence of the Bellini and the Vivarini, it is nevertheless still so *German* in expression that Dürer's monogram and the date, 1499, have to this day passed for genuine.

So then, in the opinion of these famous historians of Italian Painting, the style of Squarcione was a "mixture of the Transalpine and the Paduan," a definition which cannot be accused of too much lucidity.

Squarcione, as we see by the polyptych (at the Town Gallery of Padua) which has come down to us, was not a painter of the first magnitude, but probably, like his

contemporary Pier della Francesca, rather a first-rate teacher, especially of perspective. This is evident from the works of his various pupils; for it is precisely their strict Linear Perspective that makes the school of Padua easy to recognise—an advantage shared by all the scholars of Squarcione, Marco Zoppo as well as Gregorio Schiavone, Mantegna as well as Ansuino da Forlì, Carlo Crivelli, Nicoletto Pizzolo, or Dario, and the elder Girolamo da Treviso.¹ From one or the other of the two last-named Squarcionesques P. M. Pennacchi may very well have received the rudiments of his education. But the statement of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle that the works of these Squarcionesques bear such a decided Transalpine character² that they might be taken for works of Dürer, appears to me devoid of all foundation. It is true that a forger has put Dürer's monogram and the date 1499 on the beautiful "Pietà" at the Museo Correr, evidently for the purpose of selling his picture better. Neither do I

¹ Signor Frizzoni-Salis, of Bergamo, possesses a "Pietà" by Dario of Treviso, representing the dead Christ lamented by two angels; on the sleeve of one of these angels we read "DARIVS TARVI;" a second picture of his, at the Town Gallery of Bassano, is signed "DARIVS p." The "Angel's Greeting," in the Gallery of the Venetian Academy, Nos. 581 and 583, I consider to be likewise by him, and not by Giovanni and Antonio of Murano, as the catalogue would have it. Even Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention it as a work of the Muranese (i. 27). In the cathedral of Treviso one sees a Virgin and Child by the elder Girolamo, with the Saints Sebastian and Rochus, and on the steps of the throne two angel-minstrels; signed "Hieronymus Tarvisius pinxit 1487." Also the Tadini Collection at Lovere (province of Bergamo) has a "Pietà," much repainted, with the signature, "Hieronymus Tarvisio pinsit" (No. 250).

² I can scarcely think that by this expression Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mean merely what is angular, clumsy, and at the same time petty.

deny that the monogram has in the eyes of a superficial public passed for an authentic one, a thing that has happened and still happens with forged signatures on other pictures. But we ask all earnest connoisseurs who have seen the picture at the Museo Correr whether they, like Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, perceive in it a Transalpine character, namely, that of a Dürer, or of the Cologne or some Low Countries school, or rather, like ourselves, discern in it the stamp of a great Venetian artist? That Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle could so entirely fail to recognise Giambellino in his noble and deep-felt rendering of the subject, is what I honestly regret, both for their own sake in missing a high artistic treat, and still more for the multitude of their pupils and followers, who are thus led aside from the broad road of Art-science into a thicket of thorns, out of which it will cost them no little time and trouble to extricate themselves.

Of Cima and Pennacchi's numerous fellow-students in Giambellino's studio (1480—90), Cristoforo Caselli of Parma, Mansueti, Lattanzio of Rimini,¹ Niccolò Rondinelli of Ravenna, Jacopo of Montagnana, and others, the Berlin Gallery has no specimens. On the other hand, we meet with several pictures by later pupils of Bellini, namely, *Giorgione*, *Lorenzo Lotto*, *Vincenzo Catena*, and *Francesco*

¹ There are two great altar-pieces by *Lattanzio* da Rimini, one in the church of Piazza, the other in that of Piazzatorre, two villages in the Brembo Valley, near Bergamo; further, a Madonna worshipping the Child, at Signor F. A. Frizzoni's, Bergamo, and another Madonna signed with his name, belonging to the antiquary Guggenheim, at Venice. By Jacopo da *Montagnana* there are pictures in the church of the Santo and in the bishop's palace, Padua. At Venice the antiquary Guggenheim has the "Transfiguration of Mary," with prophets, angels, and apostles; a picture that may be reckoned among the better works of this rare master.

Bissolo. These four, together with Cima and Pennacchi, were all sons of the Marca Trevisana, a district known all over Italy as early as the thirteenth century for its elegance and luxury and its splendid and joyous feasts, and therefore called "amorosa" and "giocosa."¹

The supposed picture of *Giorgione* (No. 152) contains the portraits of two men, both of *middle* age, in black caps and black clothes; Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 155) suppose this picture to be the one that Vasari saw at Florence in the house of the sons of Borgherini, representing *young* Borgherini with his tutor.² The directors of the gallery, however, by appending a note of interrogation, seem to question the truth of this conjecture; and I think they are not altogether wrong there. For, in the first place, the picture mentioned by Vasari represented a youth and an older man, the pupil and his tutor, whilst in the picture before us we have two middle-aged men; secondly, both the drawing and painting, and also the conception of the picture, point not only *not* to Giorgione, but to a later period altogether than that of Giorgione; and, lastly, the painting is in so wretched a condition that it seems to me, as well as the directors, too hazardous to pass a decided opinion upon it.

Of *Lorenzo Lotto*, on the contrary, there are no less than four pictures in the gallery, all good and genuine works of the master. The likeness of an Architect (No. 153) is a capital portrait of Lotto's riper period (1530—1540). Likewise genuine is the picture representing the Saints Sebastian and Christopher, of the year 1531. The so-called

¹ See "Archivio Storico," Serie i. 8, 622.

² Vasari vii. 83: "In Fiorenza è di man sua in casa de' figliuoli di Giovan Borgherini il ritratto d'esso Giovanni, quando era giovine in Venezia, e nel medesimo quadro il maestro che lo guidava."

Portrait of the Artist himself bears the number 326. Lotto, born about 1477, must therefore have painted this picture in the first decade of the fifteenth century, supposing it to be his own likeness. Both drawing and workmanship, however, point to a much later period. That he signed it L. Lotus pict. instead of pinxit, is nothing to the purpose, as we find the very same signature on another picture by his hand (No. 325), "Christ taking leave of His Mother"—a subject also treated by Correggio about 1520, in a small picture now in London, but much damaged. The picture at Berlin (325) was painted by Lotto at Bergamo, for Domenico Tassi; the foundress, with a prayer-book in her hands, being Tassi's wife, Elizabeth Rota.¹ From the Tassi house the picture came into that of the Canonico Count Zanchi of Bergamo, and was sold by him to the picture-dealer Abate Massinelli, who sold it again to Mr. Solly. I saw some years ago an old copy of this picture with the same signature, at the antiquary Baslini's, Milan.

Also the two pictures ascribed to *Vicenzo Catena* are good, and characteristic of him; No. 19 represents Mary with the Child and Saints; No. 32 is a portrait of one of the Fuggers of Augsburg settled at Venice, and may be considered one of the best portraits by this master.

Catena's first instructor may well have been his countryman, the elder Jerome of Treviso; and I think this is evident from some early works of Catena. One of these, signed with the artist's name, is in the picture-gallery at Pesth, and another at the Town Gallery of Padua.²

¹ See Francesco Maria Tassi, "Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Bergamaschi," i. 125.

² The picture at Pesth (No. 138) represents Mary with the child on her knee, at the sides St. Joseph and a female saint; signed "VIZENZO

To *Francesco Bissolo*, another Trevisan, and a scholar and even imitator of Giambellino, belongs the "Resurrection of Christ" (No. 43). The better works of this inferior master are often ascribed to Bellini himself; amongst others, the much admired Madonna in the Sacristy of the Redentore at Venice.

Of Giambellino's pupils from the Bergamo district, we find also a few works here: amongst others, a very superior portrait of a woman by *Palma Vecchio*,¹ that comes very near to Lorenzo Lotto (No. 197*a*), painted between the years 1512 and 1520; and an "Adoration of the Magi" (No. 22) by *Francesco Rizo* of *Santa Croce* (a village in the district of Bergamo). Another replica at the Town Gallery of Verona. The original picture with this composition was, I have very little doubt, one by Andrea Mantegna; where it may be now is more than I can say. But I am very sure that at the photographer Perini's at Venice I saw a

C. P." The execution recalls Girolamo da Treviso, the composition, Giambellino. The "Presentation at the Temple" (No. 29 of the Town Gallery, Padua) is signed "VICENTIVS de Tarvisio."

¹ Drawings by the Venetians, taken as a whole, are very rare, at all events much rarer than those of equally important masters of Umbria and Tuscany. The Ambrosiana (*Libro Resta*) possesses two studies for a St. Joseph (in black chalk) by L. Lotto; I have never yet met with drawings by Palma Vecchio; that drawing in red chalk, Mary with the naked child in her arms (in possession of the Marquis de Chennevières), which at the great Paris Exhibition was admired as a Palma Vecchio, and designated a "*Palma Condensé*" by Mr. Charles Ephrussi ("*Les dessins des maîtres anciens*," &c., p. 145), belongs, in my opinion, not to Palma, but to G. A. da Pordenone. Compare, *e.g.*, the Child with that in Pordenone's drawing at the Venetian Academy (No. 155 in the photographer Perini's catalogue). The photograph of the Chennevières drawing is numbered 212 in Braun's Catalogue. The bunchy mantle and the type of Mary's face are enough to betray Pordenone. In Palma's pictures the drawing is always more quattrocentist, and never has the breadth and freedom of this red-chalk drawing.

copy of it, an intentional forgery. In that copy the outlines had probably been traced (by pressure); for the forms agreed exactly with those peculiar to Mantegna. Francesco Rizo must have been born about 1480, and must have come to Venice and joined the studio of Giovanni Bellini when still very young. His "Annunciation," signed with his name, and the date 1504, now at the Town Gallery of Bergamo,¹ is out-and-out Bellinesque, and has a close affinity to the early works of his countryman and fellow-student, *Andrea Previtali*.

Of this latter artist, we have before us a good picture (No. 39), "Mary with the Child and Saints."

By a second *Santa Croce*, the dry stereotyped *Girolamo*, perhaps a relation, anyhow a pupil of Francesco Rizo, we find four pictures in this gallery—the "Nativity" (No. 24); the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" (No. 26); the "Coronation of Mary" (No. 33); and lastly, the "Crucifixion" (No. 35). It is *Girolamo's* early works, of which there are some in the Town Gallery of Bergamo, that set him before us as a scholar of Francesco. Afterwards he occasionally imitates Cima, as well as others. His small pictures, all painted in one monotonous manner, which are to be met with in nearly every picture-gallery, seem to belong to his middle period (1525—1540). In many of his pictures he introduces a parrot; another characteristic of the master is his landscape, with stiff round little trees set in rows, and a striped horizon. The technical power of *Girolamo da Santa Croce* is great, his taste and imagination very commonplace; therefore he succeeded best in portraits, of which there is one in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection at Milan.

¹ It formerly adorned the village church of Spino in the Brembo Valley, near Bergamo.

A third painter of the same name, *Pietro Paolo* of *Santa Croce*, who worked until the end of the sixteenth century, was, though perhaps not the son, yet certainly a pupil and imitator of *Girolamo*. At the altar of the *Scrovegni Chapel*, Padua, one may see a signed picture of his ; also in the *Museo Corrèr*, at Venice, there are several pictures by *Pietro Paolo*, and one, "*Cristo in casa delle Marie*," with the forged signature "*Laurentii Canotii de Lendinaria opus*" (No. 312), at the Academy of Venice.¹

Before we pass on to examine the pictures of a far more celebrated imitator of *Girolamo*, namely, *Antonello da Messina*, I wish first to draw the attention of my readers to some good productions of *Vittor Carpaccio*, which hang in the Berlin Gallery.

To this naïve, always pleasant, and often roguish teller of legends belongs the "*Consecration of St. Stephen*," (No. 23), and the "*Madonna with Saints*" (No. 14). The first of these two pictures was one of five painted by the master for the *Scuola di S. Stefano*, at Venice ; but whoever wishes to know this master well must hunt him up in Venice, where, both at *S. Gregorio degli Schiavoni*, and still more at the Academy, he may be seen at his best.²

I will just remark, in passing, that the direction of the Berlin Gallery have, to their honour, enriched their

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also detected the forgery of the signature on this picture (i. 371, 5).

² The large picture in the National Gallery, London, No. 750, which bears *Carpaccio's* name, is a very feeble work of his, and not worthy to represent the master in the capital of England. A genuine and very interesting picture of his is in the collection of Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P. It represents a Virgin with the Infant Christ ; on the sides, Tobias and the Angel. Unfortunately, it has been much disfigured by restoration (ascribed to the Veronese master, *Girolamo das Libri*).

collection by a treasure, which all the galleries in the world will envy them, namely, the splendid portrait of a daughter of Roberto Strozzi, by Titian (No. 160*a*), acquired in 1878 from the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence. Before taking leave of the Venetian painters, I must for a short time draw the attention of my readers to several pictures bearing the name of an artist who was born far enough from Venice, and whose earliest artistic education was likewise an alien one, but who in spite of all this, must in some respects be classed with the Venetian school of art. I refer to *Antonello da Messina*, who has of late become so celebrated.

In the foremost rank of those opinions which in the course of long years have assumed the character of dogmas, and which no one now thinks it needful to prove, stands the conviction that "*Antonello travelled to Flanders, and there learned oil-painting of John van Eyck.*" Some modern writers substitute Roger van der Weyden, or else Hans Memling, for Van Eyck, who died in 1441. Unless I am grossly mistaken, this fable owes its origin to nothing but the vain and lively imagination of some Sicilian.

Let us look into the question closely, and without preconceived opinion.

That the painters of Europe, long before the brothers Van Eyck, had made use of the "oil medium" (to use a favourite expression of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle), is evident not only from the *Trattato della Pittura* of Cennino Cennini, which was compiled in the year 1437, but also from the much earlier "*Diversarum artium schedulæ*" of the monk Theophilus.

The inscription placed on Jan van Eyck's memorial in the Netherlands has not one syllable about his invention of oil painting:—

Hic jacet eximia clarus virtute Joannes,
In quo picturæ gratia mira fuit, etc.¹

And among the German writers of the fifteenth century, not one speaks of this discovery of Van Eyck's, while the greater number of German painters, as Martin Schongauer, Michel Wohlgemuth, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein the elder, Burckmair, and others, had adopted the system of oil painting *perfected* by the brothers Van Eyck, without anyone north of the Alps making a noise about it.

But even in Italy there appears to have been no particular stir made about the new Flemish method of painting till the biography of Antonello da Messina appeared in the "Vite" of Vasari in 1550.

Bartholomeus Facius, indeed, in his book, "De viris illustribus," written in 1456, says of Joannes Gallicus (Van Eyck), whom, as a *practical painter*, he calls "princeps pictorum," that he "multa de colorum proprietatibus invenisse, quae ab antiquis tradita, ex Plinii et ab aliorum auctorum lectione didicerat."

A contemporary of Facius, the Florentine architect and sculptor, Antonio Averulino (named Filarete), says, in Book 24 of his "Trattato della Architettura," etc. (M.S. in the Trivulzio Library, Milan, and in the Magliabecchiana, Florence): "And in *oil* also can they lay all these colours upon canvas or on wood, but thereto goeth *another method of painting*, exceeding fair for them that know it. In Lamagna (Germany) they work well on this wise, and specially doth Master John, of Bruges, and Master Roger (van der Weyden), excel therein, who both work right skilfully in oil colours. *Qu.* Tell me how they apply this oil, and what manner of oil it be? *Ans.* Linseed oil. *Qu.*

¹ See Zani's "Encyclopedia," &c. vol. ii. 305.

Is it not very dim? *Ans.* Yea, but they purge off the dimness; in what way, I cannot tell.”¹

In the year 1464, when Filarete wrote his *Trattato*, Antonello, born (according to the historians) about 1414, numbered some fifty years of age, yet he is never mentioned by Filarete in connection with the subject. And the same silence is maintained by Ciriacus of Ancona, and the Tuscan Albertini.

The only writer of the 15th century that ever names Antonello is the *Sicilian* Matteo Collaccio, and that in a letter to another Sicilian, Antonio Siciliano, Principal of Padua University. Speaking of the celebrated men of his time, he says:—“Habet vero haec aetas Antonellum Siculum, cujus pictura Venetiis in Divi Cassiani aede magnae est admirationi.”

Albrecht Dürer, who visited Venice for the first time in 1494, when Antonello had just died, does not once mention him in his letters or notes, a sign that Antonello could not have enjoyed that fame at Venice nor that consideration in the eyes of connoisseurs which was attempted to be bestowed on him fifty years later, as in Vasari's biographies.

In 1524 the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel, an intelligent amateur,² addressed himself to the architect Summonzio, of Naples, with the view of getting fuller information about Antonello da Messina. The Neapolitan's reply to the Venetian ran thus:—“From the time of King Ladislaus down to our Neapolitan master Colan-

¹ This shows that at the time of Filarete the new Van Eyck system of painting was *theoretically* known, but that no Italian painter had as yet felt prompted to abandon for it the native method of tempera painting.

² I suspect this Marcantonio Michiel to be the “Anonymus” of Morelli.

tonio, we never possessed a man with so great a talent as he for painting; had he not died young, he would have done great things. And if this Colantonio never reached the same perfection in his art as his well-known pupil at Venice, Antonello da Messina, it was only the fault of the times he lived in. The declared aim of Colantonio was, according to the general fashion then at Naples, to paint in the manner of the Low-Countrymen; and being passionately fond of his art, he had resolved to go to Flanders, in order to perfect himself therein at the fountain-head. But King Roger¹ of Anjou diverted him from his intended journey, by himself instructing him, both in the application of oil (*pratica*) and in the mystery of mixing colours (*tempera*). And it was from Colantonio, who died young, that his pupil Antonello da Messina learned it.”²

Modern criticism has clearly demonstrated that Summonzio's “Neapolitan painter Colantonio” was nothing but one of the numerous inventions or illusions of Neapolitan local patriotism;³ but that has nothing to do with our immediate object. I only wish to draw the attention of my readers to the fact that the first writer who gives us any account of Antonello's artistic training, the Neapolitan architect Summonzio, makes him learn the new Flemish manner of painting in oil, not in Flanders, as Vasari tells us, but in Italy.⁴

¹ King Roger reigned at Naples from 1435 to 1442.

² Lanzi, “*Storia Pittorica della Italia*,” Milano, 1842, ii. 319.

³ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 335, and ii. 78, and Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni (“*Archivio Storico Italiano*”): “Napoli nei suoi rapporti coll'arte del Rinascimento.”

⁴ The ignorance as well as the ridiculous patriotic vanity of Summonzio will not seem strange to students acquainted with the books of the Neapolitan, De Dominici, or those of the still living Sicilian, De

In flat contradiction to this statement of the Neapolitan is the information imparted to Vasari for his "Vite," some five-and-twenty years later, by (as I have some reason for believing) a Sicilian savant. His account is that Antonello learnt drawing at Rome (of whom?); that he then retired to Palermo,¹ where he acquired great celebrity, and after several years' residence there, returned to his native town Messina, where he set the seal to the fame he had won at Palermo. But, having gone to Naples one day, he was there shown the beautiful picture by Jan van Eyck, which had been sent from Flanders to King "René;" and the glowing, vivid colours of that painting so impressed him, that he resolved there and then to set out for Bruges, where, being received in the friendliest way by Jan van Eyck, he was initiated forthwith into the mysteries of oil-painting. On returning from Flanders to Messina (say, about 1440 or 1441, as Jan van Eyck died in the latter year), Antonello remained a very short time in his native town, and then repaired to Venice—therefore, about the year 1442 or 1443.

Let us now hear another and later Sicilian, Maurolicus ("Hist. Sican.," fol. 186). According to him, Antonello "*ob mirum ingenium Venetiis aliquot annos publice conductus vixit: Mediolani quoque fuit percelebris.*" Strange to say, not a single contemporary writer of Milan records the presence of the thrice-celebrated Antonello da Messina in the Lombard capital!

If, as we have seen, the statement of Summonzio sounded rather stupid, so, on the other hand, provincial pride and childish vanity peep so simply out of the lines of the

Marzo. Man—especially man born in a Southern clime—is apt to brag most of what he has least of.

¹ The Palermitan patriot seems to me to peep out in this passage.

Sicilians, Matteo Collaccio and Maurolicus, as well as out of Antonello's biography in Vasari's work-of-many-hands, that we can hardly forbear smiling at it. And, in fact, of all the biographies of celebrated artists in Vasari's "Vite," there is none that so persistently runs foul of chronology and history as this one of Antonello da Messina.

To crown all, the biography concludes with the following Epitaph, inscribed on the grave of the artist, who had died at Venice in the year 1493—an epitaph which, often and eagerly searched for, has never yet been found by mortal man:—

“ D.O.M.

Antonius pictor, præcipuum Messanæ suæ et Siciliæ¹ totius ornamentum, hac humo contegitur. Non solum suis picturis, in quibus singulare artificium et venustas fuit, sed et quod coloribus oleo miscendis splendorem et perpetuitatem (!) *primus* italicæ picturæ contulit, summo semper artificum studio celebratus.”

All this, as well as the story interwoven with it about Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno, really does not sound like earnest, but seems to me rather comical and childish; and it is incomprehensible to me, that in Italy, where so many learned men have, ever since the last century, puzzled their brains over Antonello's biography, none should until now have been struck by the absurdity of the whole narrative in Vasari.

If, therefore, we want to get some light about this master, we must entirely banish the Vasari biography from our minds, and look elsewhere for the light. Suppose we let his works speak for themselves!

¹ An Italian of Middle or Northern Italy would probably have said *Italiciæ* instead of *Siciliæ*.

The oldest dated picture of Antonello da Messina that has come down to us is of the year 1465, and as far as I know, there is no earlier work of his. This is the painting now at the National Gallery, London (No. 673), representing the Salvator Mundi. Marked on a Cartello of larger size than is usual in his later works, are the words: Antonellus Messaneus. The painting, both in expression and colouring, looks still very *Flemish*.

The same Netherlandish appearance we find in several small Ecce Homo's, without signature, one of which is in the house Spinola delle Pelliccieri at Genoa, and another at the municipal picture-collection of Vicenza (Room 3, No. 12). Both pictures, much disfigured, may possibly date from even before the year 1465. To that same early Flemish period of the master (1465—70) may also belong the much-injured Ecce Homo of Signor Zir at Naples. All these four heads of Christ are as yet very weak in their modelling, and, as I have said, look very Flemish both in conception and in the ruddy complexion peculiar to the school of Van Eyck. Compared with works of the same master some ten years later, they are evidently productions of *anything but a finished artist*.

In the beginning of the year 1473 the triptych for the church of S. Gregorio, of Messina, must have been finished; whether at Messina itself or at Venice (whence he might easily send it to Sicily by sea), cannot be determined.¹ It

¹ This picture is now in the University building at Messina, and in a deplorable state. It is signed: "Año. Dm. m. ccēc. septuagcsimo tertio. Antonellus Messanēsis pinxit." It has still a very Flemish look, and indicates an artist who knows perfectly how to handle the brush, but is not yet master of the forms of the human body. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to be of the same opinion (ii. 86).

seems certain that in that year Antonello was already at Venice.

His practical mastery of the new method, still unknown in the City of the Lagoons, of glazing in oil colours a ground laid in tempera, must have given Antonello a higher status at Venice than his intrinsic merits as an artist would have warranted. We see that he is at once honoured with a commission from the wardens of S. Cassiano. Unhappily the altar-piece there, so highly praised by Matteo Collaccio and Sabellico, and signed with the year 1473, has long since disappeared. And not only do the church dignitaries of Venice patronize him, but the patricians were eager to have their likenesses taken on the new principle practised by Antonello; and, to judge by the number of portraits he turned out in those years, he must for a time have been the most popular portrait-painter at Venice.

A male portrait, of the year 1474, signed *Antonellus Messaneus*, formed part of the Duke of Hamilton's collection.¹ Of the year 1475 is the precious and highly-prized portrait in the Salon Carré at the Louvre, likewise signed *Antonellus Messaneus*; of the same year, and with the same signature, is the "Crucifixion" at the Antwerp Gallery, in which picture a slight tinge of Carpaccio's influence on the Messinian is very visible to me.

If Antonello brought with him to Venice the so-called mystery of the new Van Eyck method, he must nevertheless have felt himself, as an artist, occupying a subordinate position as compared with the brothers Bellini, the Vivarini, and even Carpaccio. The productions of his later

¹ An excellent picture of his, representing an "Ecce Homo," is in the collection of Mr. Fr. Cook, Richmond.

years make it evident to me that Antonello gradually formed himself by studying the works and seeking the society of the great Venetian masters, till he reached that degree of perfection (especially in the rendering of form and in linear perspective) which we miss in his early *Ecce Homo's*, and admire in his portraits of 1475, 76, and 78. Up to the last-named year the flesh colours in Antonello's pictures still retain the ruddy tint of the Flemings,¹ whereas the male portrait of 1478 at the Berlin Gallery (No. 18) has acquired a lighter flesh-colour, similar to that of Giambellino. Amongst the whole of Antonello's portraits, I give the preference to this one at Berlin. In all his other likenesses, both those of his early period and those of the ninth decade (1480—1490), for instance, in the capital Portrait of a Man, now belonging to the lawyer Molino of Genoa, and in that of a man crowned with laurel at the Museo Civico of Milan, Antonello exaggerates the linear perspective of the eye to such a degree that the look of the person represented becomes unnaturally sharp; a thing that also happened to Dürer in his otherwise magnificent portrait of the old shoemaker at Nürnberg.

To this, his later Venetian period, I would assign, besides the S. Sebastian at Dresden, also the beautiful portrait of a young man at the Berlin Gallery (No. 25), further, a Christ on the Cross (in possession of the late Duca di Castelvechio at Rome), and the totally over-painted S. Sebastian (No. 16), in the Städel Gallery at Frankfurt.

It is not likely, however, that from the year 1478 until

¹ So in the male portrait at the Trivulzio house at Milan, of the year 1476, in that of the Borghese Gallery at Rome, and in that of Prince Giovanelli's collection at Venice.

his death in 1493 Antonello should have contented himself with producing this half-dozen of pictures, mostly small, that are known to us; we may with good reason suppose that other and larger works of his must be in existence; though what corner they may be hiding in, is more than I can say offhand.

We have seen that the earliest works of Antonello can only be traced back to the year 1464 or 1463 at the farthest, and that those heads of Christ betray the hand of a still very imperfect artist. Now, if the Messinian really came into the world in 1414, as all the historians repeat after Vasari, the question arises, what has become of his early works, unless we are to conclude that he began the study of painting in his fiftieth year! Vasari, after introducing him into the world in 1414, makes him die in 1493 *at the age* (not of seventy-nine, but) *of forty-nine years*. Let us keep to this last item, and Antonello's birth would not have taken place till 1444, which under all the circumstances appears the likeliest thing. Gallus, in his "Annals of Messina,"¹ places the birth of Antonello *about* eleven years before the death of King Alfonso, who died in 1458, therefore about 1447. Let us then suppose that Antonello was born in the beginning of 1445, and died towards the end of 1493.

According to this calculation, he must have painted the Salvator Mundi, at the National Gallery of London, in his twentieth year, an age with which the workmanship of that picture agrees very well. From this point of time to the year 1478, we are able to follow his progress almost year by year. His Italian nature gradually works its way through the Flemish shell in which his first master had

¹ Hackert, "Memorie dei Pittori Messinesi."

encased his hand as well as mind; at length the son of the South stands fully revealed in the portrait of the year 1475 at the Louvre, and that of 1476 in the Trivulzio house at Milan, while the portrait of 1478 (No. 18) in the Berlin Gallery, sets before us the Sicilian modified into a Venetian. And if in this formation and transformation of Antonello as an artist, Giovan Bellini had, of all Venetian painters, obviously the greatest share; yet, on the other hand, as we had occasion to remark in examining the St. Sebastian at the Dresden Gallery, Mantegna's wall-paintings at Padua were also not without influence on his artistic development.¹

From the above we may conclude that it was in Venice that Antonello completed his artistic education, which could not well have been the case, had he come there at the age of eight or nine and fifty. I have yet to add that Scardeone, in his "*Antiquitates Patavienses*," relates that the Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio,² born in 1440, and an intimate friend of Antonello's, "deeply lamented his death,"—a grief that probably would not have been so keen at the decease of an old man of eighty.

And now, lastly, we put the question, Was it really necessary to make an Italian travel to Bruges for a

¹ A view radically different from ours, as to Antonello's significance in the development of Italian art, was propounded by the celebrated Baron von Rumohr. In his "*Three Journeys to Italy*," he says: "Besides the beautiful Van Eycks, the Berlin Gallery has *three* works by Antonello da Messina. With these our gallery acquired the unique and inestimable advantage of being able to demonstrate that the *Venetian School*, commonly called 'Venetian' and nothing more, I mean *that which propagated itself from Antonello to the Bellini* and further on, had really *derived* both the technic of oil-painting, and in particular its *Naturalistic tendency, from these old Netherlanders.*"

² Should be *Antonio* Riccio of Verona.

purpose which he could just as well have gained in his own country? Were there not painters enough of the school of Van Eyck in Italy, both at Naples and elsewhere, in the middle of the 15th century? We know that the celebrated Roger van der Weyden himself stayed several years in the Peninsula at that very time. The possibility, then, of Antonello's having acquired the Van Eyck method from some Flemish painter in Italy itself, instead of in the Netherlands, must, I think, be conceded. I ask no more; all the inferences I leave to the discernment of my kind readers.

Antonello's activity at Venice during more than twenty years, and the prominent position he had won there as a portrait-painter, could not remain without influence on his own narrower native land. Whoever visits the churches of Messina and of the towns and villages along that eastern coast of Sicily as far as Syracuse, will still find in many of them Madonnas, whether in colours or in marble, that remind him of Antonello as well as Giambellino, sometimes also of Cima da Conegliano; and perhaps he will soon be convinced that there can be no talk of a really native "Messinian School," any more than of a "Palermitan." The paintings of an Antonio¹ and Pietro da Messina, a Maso, an Antonello Saliba, a Salvo d'Antonio, the so-called Francesco Cardillo, and others, as well as the marble statues of the Virgin with the Infant Christ in her arms at the churches of Messina, Taormina, Catania, Syracuse,

¹ A picture by Antonio da Messina is in the collection of Mr. Francis Cook, Richmond. It represents the Virgin with the Infant Christ, standing on her knees; two angels are holding a crown above the Virgin's head. The picture is signed ANTVS DE MESSINA OPVS. The execution of this very feeble production is in the style of Giovanni Bellini.

and other places, have one and all the stamp of the Venetian school; and they give room to the conjecture that all these East Sicilian artists, drawn to Venice by their famous countryman Antonello, may have there received their artistic training, whether as painters or as sculptors.

And not only did Antonello act powerfully on his own Sicilian countrymen; we also discern his influence in several portraits by painters of Upper Italy—for instance, those of Jacopo de Barbari, Filippo Mazzola, Andrea Solari (portrait of a Venetian Senator at the National Gallery, London).

The Berlin Catalogue assigns to Antonello da Messina *three* pictures: the “St. Sebastian” (No. 8), the “Virgin and Child” (No. 13), and the celebrated portrait of a young man in Venetian costume (No. 18).

The picture of St. Sebastian bears the inscription on a balustrade: “ANTONELLUS. MESANEVS” (*sic*). In this painting the workmanship is far too weak in drawing, and much too rough in execution for Antonello; besides, the master *always* signed his name on a label, and spelt Messaneus with a double s. I therefore take this St. Sebastian, as well as the one similar to this at the Town Gallery of Bergamo, to be *pupils’ work*. The signature was evidently put on the picture *after* the death of Antonello.

The second picture, the “Virgin and Child,” has, in my opinion, also a forged signature, and may very probably be the work of *Pietro da Messina*. The hand of Mary here comes nearer to the form of the hand of Giambellino than that of Pietro’s picture S. Maria in the Church Formosa, Venice; both the shape of the legs in the Infant Christ and the head of the Virgin are likewise imitated from Giambellino; but the shape of the ear, with the lobe

terminating in a point, the stiff little trees set in rows, and the pale red horizon, appear to me to indicate Pietro rather than any other pupil of Antonello. Be that as it may, the picture seems to me far too weak for a work of the master himself.

Very fine, on the contrary, is the third little picture, the portrait of a young man (No. 18). In this painting our Messinian is already quite Giambellino-Venetian. The original date, 1478 or 1479, has been changed by a forger into 1445, probably with the view of bringing the picture more into harmony with the supposed date of Antonello's birth, 1414.

Besides this little picture, I believe that the Berlin Gallery possesses a second portrait by Antonello da Messina. It represents likewise a young man, bears the number 25, and is ascribed in the catalogue to the Venetian school, which I take as another proof of my thesis, that the Sicilian at Venice became in time a Venetian. I would place this painting in the decade 1480—90.

A clever writer on art, M. A. Michiels,¹ speaks of yet another portrait by Antonello, which he thinks he has discovered at the Berlin Gallery. "*C'est l'image de Philippe le Bon. Le style du peintre s'y manifeste au premier coup d'œil*" (No. 537). At present there still hangs under this number a portrait of Philip the Good, but it is obviously the work of a Flemish artist, and M. Michiels surely cannot have confounded that master with Antonello. But enough of the Messinian. I am only afraid I have offended many an art-student by the somewhat original view I have taken of this highly-praised master, and my endeavour to assign him a lower position in art-history

¹ "*Histoire de la Peinture Flamande*," ii. 393.

than he has hitherto occupied in the eyes of the orthodox. Among so many heresies, let them pardon this one also; we live in times when many a principle once held sacred and unassailable has to make room for contrary views.

And now we take leave of Venice; from the golden atmosphere of the "Bride of the Sea" we go to the clearer and drier, but also more colourless air of the "terra ferma." Along the stream of the Brenta, through the midst of cheerful villas, the favourite resort of Venetian patricians in the 16th century, we arrive at the old and world-renowned University town of Padua.

THE PADUANS.

Padovani, gran Dottori. In truth, of all the schools of painting in the fertile valley of the Po, that of Padua is the most learned. Here the far-travelled Paduan, Francesco Squarcione, set up his famous school, where pre-eminently the study of linear-perspective was fostered and furthered. These studies may also have received a fresh impulse from the presence of the insufficiently appreciated Florentine, Paolo Uccello.¹ The school of Squarcione enjoyed in its day such a reputation, that travelling princes and great lords used to honour it with their visits.

Of this Squarcione school of painting, the Berlin Gallery possesses one work by the Dalmatian, *Gregorio Schiavone*,² and two by its incomparably greatest represen-

¹ Paolo Uccello is said to have adorned with frescoes the façade of the Vitaliani (afterwards Borromei) Palace at Padua during the thirties of the 15th century.

² It formed the middle piece of a triptych: enthroned Virgin and Child (No. 1162). The children of this Dalmatian clodhopper have as yet a very fœtus-like appearance; his pictures have only a historical value.

tative, *Andrea Mantegna*.¹ The Berlin Catalogue supposes Mantegna's father-in-law, Jacopo Bellini, to have contributed to his artistic development. It would be a hard matter to find proofs to justify such a hypothesis. On the other hand, I readily allow the influence that the plastic works of Donatello must have had on young Mantegna; in fact, Mother Nature had cut him out more for a sculptor than for a painter.

Mantegna's two pictures at the Berlin Gallery bear the numbers 9 and 29. The first represents a clergyman in advanced years. This bust looks as if cast in bronze, the eye stern and life-like, chin and neck very skilfully modelled. If I see aright, this portrait must have been painted about 1460; at a time, therefore, when Matteo Bosso, whose likeness the catalogue (following Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle) affirms it to be, was a much younger man than the subject of Mantegna's picture. It seems to me, therefore, more advisable to keep to the former statement of the catalogue, namely, that the man here represented is the Cardinal-Archbishop of Florence, Louis of Padua.²

¹ Other scholars of Squarcione were—Marco Zoppo, from Bologna; Dario, from Treviso; Ansuino, from Forli; Niccolò Pizzolo, from Padua; Matteo del Pozzo, Carlo Crivelli, &c.

² In 1865 a certain Signor Giuseppe Barbieri, of Padua, sold the portrait of another clergyman, an Augustine monk, to the Milanese antiquary Baslini. This likeness, which in course of time found a purchaser in England, had the following inscription:—

“Præditus ingenio tenui, quem rite magistrum
Effigiat Paulum Mantinea, cernite, quaeso.”

Even this picture was not only quoted, but highly praised, by the late Pietro Selvatico in his commentary—which, by the way, proved a thorough failure—on the “Vita” of A. Mantegna in the Florentine edition of Vasari (v. 185). To my thinking, the picture was only a piece of journey-work by some quite subordinate scholar of Squarcione.

The "Presentation of Christ in the Temple" (No. 29). This tempera-painting, partly obliterated and partly disfigured by restoration, is one of the later works of the master (1490—1500). Like the great altar-piece of 1497 in the Trivulzio House, and, if I remember right, like Mantegna's two pictures in the sacristy of S. Andrea at Mantua,¹ it is painted *a colletta*, that is, without *imprimitura*.

In the Querini-Stampalia Collection at Venice, there is a replica of this subject *on wood*, eight figures in all.² The "Anonymus" of Morelli (p. 17) describes, no doubt, this latter picture, and *not* that in the Berlin Gallery, as being in the possession of Pietro Bembo of Padua: "el quadro in tavola della N. D. che presenta el puttino alla *circoncisione*."

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are right in calling Mantegna the Luca Signorelli of the North (p. 328), or in other words, the most eminent representative in North Italy of that period of art-history which I call the epoch of *Character*. Thus, when an artist in Central Italy, like Signorelli, resembles one in North Italy of the same art-period, we have no right to say, as it has been said till

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 321), in stating their opinion of this portrait, follow the Marchese Selvatico, and say: "This may be an early Mantegna," but prudently add, that it might also be an early Schiavone or Zoppo, or some other—as if the forms in all Mantegna's paintings were not *rather* different from those in Schiavone's, Marco Zoppo's, and di tutti quanti! Why, Mantegna's forms remain always the same, from his work of the year 1450 (gate-lunette of the church S. Antonio at Padua) to his "Lamentation over the Dead Christ," at the Brera Gallery, of the year 1506, which may be regarded as his last picture.

¹ These two pictures are cited by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 416-7) as works of Mantegna's *sons*, with the remark that they are painted *in oil*.

² The re-painting to which the picture has lately been subjected by the ignorant directors of that institution has dealt it the stroke of grace, so that in its present barbarous condition it may be regarded as lost.

now, that the one has imitated and been influenced by the other; the true reason being, that both the artists are at the same stage of artistic development, that they belong to the same period, and are swayed by a similar taste. From Vasari down to our own time, the maddest mischief has been wrought with the so-called influence theory, and we turn positively giddy over this incessant *chassez-croisez* which the historians make their artists dance. It is surely high time to give up this utterly unhistorical, and at the same time silly mania. It might, partly at least, help us out of the dismal chaos introduced into the history of Italian art by the abuse of a pretty game meant to be ingenious.

The notion of an original VICENTINE School cannot be entertained at all. No doubt the great *Bartolommeo Montagna* founded a school of painting at Vicenza, out of which sprang not only Benedetto Montagna, better known as an engraver than as a painter, but also Giovanni Speranza, an imitator of Bartolommeo; partly, also, Giovanni Bonconsiglio and Francesco da Ponte, father of Jacopo Bassano; but Bartolommeo Montagna was a Brescian by birth, and his artistic training he must have received mainly at Venice.¹ That in this latter town he also received influences from Vittor Carpaccio, seems evident to me, not only from his picture of 1487 (the enthroned Madonna with Saints) at the Town Gallery of Bergamo, but also from the technic of his drawings. His most important work is probably the great altar-piece of the year 1499

¹ Several of his drawings are still ascribed to Giambellino, as we have seen; so, to give one more instance, is a Virgin and Child in the Uffizi at Florence (Philpot, No. 1199). At the Louvre they even confound Montagna with Dossi in a drawing (black chalk and gypsum) representing a noble lady with four lady companions (without number).

(No. 163) at the Brera Gallery. His painting in the Berlin Gallery (No. 44) represents an enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints; it is signed with the master's name and the date 1500, and therefore belongs to his best period. Bartolommeo Montagna was born at Orzinovi, between Brescia and Crema.

THE VERONESE.

Along the magnificent mountain chain that divides the Vicentine district from the Tyrolese Alps, we reach in a few hours old Verona, the home of the Scaligers, the river-town so often sung by Shakespeare, with its high steeples and dark cypress trees, between which there gazes at us from afar the majestic summit of Monte Baldo. And "*aria di Montebaldo*" expresses the unrestrained gaiety of the Veronese.

No school of painting in Italy, except the Florentine, shows so regular and uninterrupted a development, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, as the graceful school of VERONA. If we look for example at some of the oldest frescoes at S. Zeno's, if we examine the pictures of Turoni, the wall-paintings of Altichiero and Giacomo Avanzi of the fourteenth century, the frescoes of the great Pisanello in the church S. Anastasia of the first half of the fifteenth century, the pictures of Stefano da Zevio, of Liberale, of Domenico Morone, and their pupils Francesco Morone, Girolamo dai Libri, Michele da Verona, Giolfino, Carotto, Torbido, and Cavazzola; and then when we come from Antonio Badile and Domenico Brusasorci, to Paolo Veronese and his followers, we find everywhere the same cheerful, amiable, and graceful character looking out of each of these works of the Veronese school. The Veronese do

not penetrate so deep into the essence of art as the Venetians, but they are, with few exceptions, more gracious and serene. And to this day the population of this beautifully situated town is reckoned the cheeriest and gayest of all Italy (*Veronesi, mezzo matti*).¹

Of this school the Berlin Gallery contains but few representatives—namely, one picture by Francesco Morone, and one by Girolamo dai Libri.

The small Madonna of *Francesco Morone* (No. 46) is signed with the artist's name, but is, unfortunately, much injured, and is quite unfit to give us an adequate notion of the importance of this excellent painter. We must learn to know him at Verona. Francesco Morone was the pupil of his father, Domenico; from his early works (in the church of S. Bernardino at Verona) to his latest he always keeps the same character. As for any "influence of Mantegna and Montagna," I think it impossible to perceive the slightest trace of it in his pictures. The "Enthroned Virgin and Child, two saints and three singing angels," by *Girolamo dai Libri* (No. 30), has likewise sustained much injury. The angels, for instance, have quite lost their

¹ The drawings of the Veronese school of painting are not so scarce as those of the Venetian. The Louvre possesses in the so-called Vallardi book a number of interesting drawings by *Pisanello*; and the Ambrosiana Collection still has several, in spite of the spoliation that has taken place. Drawings in pen and ink, by *Liberale da Verona*, are to be found in the Uffizi Gallery; and in Germany (always under the name of Mantegna), at Munich (see p. 105), at Brunswick (a man with a mantle holding the Zodiacus, on parchment); at the Städel Institute, Frankfort (the Dead Christ, Mary and John, a pelican, and St. Magdalen), probably figures used in niello-works; also in the Albertina at Vienna are several good drawings by the master. The Albertina in Vienna possesses the only drawing I ever saw by *Giovan Francesco Carotto* (No. 18); it represents an allegorical figure with two naked putti. We recognise in it the pupil of Liberale.

original character; the Madonna is still pretty well preserved, and characteristic of the master. As far as I know, it is the only picture in Germany of this Veronese painter. The finest works of Girolamo are at Verona—viz., in S. Giorgio, in S. Paolo, in the Town Gallery, and one of his best in S. Tommaso. This last magnificent picture represents three saints, Rochus, Sebastian, and Job; and is there erroneously ascribed to Carotto. Girolamo dai Libri probably studied first under Liberale, perhaps also under Domenico Morone, but not under Francesco Carotto, who was only a few years older than himself. His early works (S. Anastasia) recall Liberale more than Mantegna, the later ones Francesco Morone (S. Giorgio, and Town Gallery).

THE BRESCIANS.

The Lake of Garda and its outlet the Mincio, at once part the territory of Verona from that of Brescia, and also the Veronese school of painting from the BRESCIAN.

Whilst I could only light upon one solitary painting of the Brescian school on the left shore of Lake Garda,¹ we come across several works of Veronese artists² on the right or Brescian shore;—a fact that speaks, I think, for the greater vigour and expansive power of the Veronese school. The dialect of the Brescians is very like that of their neighbours of Bergamo, but not so harsh and rugged;

¹ In the church of Torre, a village between Garda and Malcesine, is a picture by Sebastian Ragonese (Aragonese), a pupil of Romanino.

² At Limone a (certainly much injured) picture by Fr. Torbido, there ascribed erroneously to Moretto; at the cathedral of Salò, a "Christ in Purgatory," by Zenon, 1537 (fourth altar on the right); the Saints Antony, Sebastian, and Rochus, with two founders (fourth altar on the left), by Fr. Torbido again; at the church of Desenzano, another picture by Zenon; and so on.

the character of the people, too, is more lively and frank, more given to show and swagger (Bresciani spacca-cantoni). The Brescians, wedged in between the Veronese and Bergamese, unite, to some extent, the manly energy of the latter with the greater vivacity and pliancy of the former.

So far as it is possible now to survey the Brescian school, we may assert that, like the Bergamese, it only began to flourish and to unfold its peculiar and individual character in the second half of the 15th century. It is true that as early as the time of the Veronese painter Altichiero da Zevio, that is, in the second half of the 14th century, there lived a painter called Ottaviano Prandino of Brescia, and if we may trust Michele Savonarola (*de laudibus Patavii*), he, jointly with Altichiero, decorated with frescoes the "Hall of Giants" in the Palazzo del Capitano of Padua. This Ottaviano is likewise mentioned by the chronicler Elia Capriolo in his "Chronicon de rebus Brixianorum," written at the beginning of the 16th century:—"Eo tempore haec civitas Octaviano Prandino et Bartholino cognomento Testorino pictoribus floruit, quorum virtuti et muneri in colorandis imaginibus nemo adhuc par usque inventus fuit, quamquam Gentilis pictor Florentinus (da Fabriano) Pandulpho tunc¹ principi sacellum in praesentiarum usque Pandulphi capellam vocitatum et ipse graphice pinxerit."

But no work has come down to us from the hand of these two painters so highly lauded by Capriolo, and we can form no opinion of their merits.

At the Turin Gallery (placed in the Conservator's room)

¹ In 1421, Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini ceded the sovereignty of Brescia to Philip Maria Visconti for 34,000 gold florins.

I was shown some years ago a panel-picture of Mary enthroned, with the Child lying naked on her knee, and the Saints Laurentius, Aurelius, Albinus, and Amicus; the picture bore the inscription: "Paulus Brisiensis pinxit, 1458." This Paulus seemed to me an insignificant handicraftsman without artistic character.¹

At length, in the second half of the 15th century, the great but far too little appreciated *Vincenzo Foppa* arose in his native town of Brescia,² and he it was that laid the foundation of a school of painting in that town. Both in the school of Brescia, and especially in that of Milan,³

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. 589) would set this painter before us as the author of the "Annunciation" (second altar on the right) in the church of S. Alessandro at Brescia (there ascribed to B. Angelico da Fiesole). This picture, if I mistake not, came to that church about the year 1438, and, moreover, betrays the school of Gentile da Fabriano, especially in the landscape of the small predella picture. I cannot see in it the remotest affinity with the manner of Paulus at the Turin Gallery.

² If we are to believe Lomazzo, Foppa removed from Brescia to Milan in 1460. The same writer tells us that Foppa composed a book on linear-perspective ("Trattato della Pittura," i. 39 and 55). We know that Foppa worked at Milan as early as 1457.

³ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are wrong in making Foppa a Pavian. Amongst other contemporaries of Foppa, Calepino (of Bergamo) and the "Anonymus" of Morelli call him a *Brescian*, and his picture of 1456 at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (No. 54), "Christ on the Cross," bears the inscription: "VINCEN-CIVS (not CIVIS) BRIXI-ENSIS, p." Also on his great altar-piece at Savona Cathedral, completed in 1489 with the help of the Nizzard Brea, we read: "Vincenzo de Foppa de Brisia." (See Stefano Fenaroli, "Dizionario degli artisti Bresciani," p. 131). We must not, as people often do, confound this Vincenzo Foppa, *Vincenzo il Vecchio* (as he was called, to distinguish him from the younger Foppa) with his pupil Vincenzo Verchio, that is, Civerchio, who was afterwards "civis Brixiae donatus," that is, nominated honorary citizen of Brescia. Civerchio came from Crema, and is a much less important man than his master Foppa. Civerchio worked until the year 1540; Foppa died in 1492. Works of

Foppa holds the same place that the mighty Mantegna does at Padua and Mantua, Liberale at Verona, Cosimo Tura at Ferrara, &c. According to Filarete and Girolamo Savonarola, he was a scholar of Squarcione.

From the school of Foppa came forth, amongst other inferior artists, Floriano Ferramola, to whom destiny dealt out the good fortune of initiating into art one of the most brilliant and delightful painters of Upper Italy, the great *Alessandro Bonvicino*, called *Moretto*. In the church of S. Maria at Lovere (on Lake Iseo) are to be seen signed pictures by Ferramola of the year 1514. He died in 1528. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain (ii. 363) that Ferramola was formed under the influence of the schools of Foppa, Costa, and Francia. What the Bolognese school

Vincenzo Foppa are to be found : at the Brera Gallery, Milan, the "Martyrdom of S. Sebastian" (fresco), and the panel-pictures which, united, formed the polyptych seen by Morelli's "Anonymus" in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie at Bergamo, now stupidly exhibited under the name of Zenale, and quoted as such by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 40—3); at the Museo Archeologico, Milan, the fresco "Virgin and Child between two Prophets;" at the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection, Milan, Mary holding in her arms the Child, clothed in a yellow shirt, landscape background; at the Borromeo Collection, Milan, the "Procession to Golgotha," panel-picture, *chef d'œuvre* of the master; at Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni's, Milan, "Virgin and Child, with two Angels;" at the Town Gallery of Bergamo, the above-named "Christ on the Cross," and a "St. Jerome scourging himself," likewise signed with the name.—If I am not mistaken, there are some drawings by Foppa in the British Museum Collection, but, as a matter of course, under the name of Mantegna, "Three Warriors" (photographed by Braun), (No. 54), and the "Crucifixion" (Braun, No. 55), a washed drawing finely executed.

By Vincenzo Civerchio there are signed pictures : at the Town Gallery of Brescia, a triptych of 1495 with the genuine signature, "Vincen-tius Cremensis;" one of 1504 in the church of S. Alessandro at Brescia; one dated 1525 in the church (sacristy) of Palazzuolo (all' Oglio); another in the cathedral of Crema. Of his latest period (1537 and 1539), one at the gallery of Lovere, another in the church of S. Giovanni sopra Lecco.

of Costa and Francia can have to do with the Brescian Ferramola, the gods alone, barring those famed historians, can tell.

The catalogue of the Berlin Gallery says that Moretto was born at Rovato, and that he died in 1560; both of which are mistakes. Moretto was born at Brescia in 1498, and died there at the end of the year 1555 (Fenaroli, "Diz. d. art. Bresc." 35 and 57). The last date on his works is 1554; it is on the great altar-piece, the "Lamentation over Christ," belonging to Signor Frizzoni-Salis, of Bergamo.

I have no wish to dispute that Moretto, when twenty-four years old, may have studied and learned a good deal from Titian's polyptych of the "Resurrection,"¹ painted in 1522 for the church of S. Nazzaro e Celso, at Brescia; but that he ever tried in his *best period* to imitate the Cadorian, as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle will have it, I really cannot see.² Examine his works of the year 1521, in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia, his male portrait of 1526 (now at the National Gallery, London), his "St. Margaret" of 1530 in S. Francesco at Brescia; another picture of 1540 in S. Giorgio at Verona; and you will grant, I hope, that in these works no one can seriously find a trace of Titian's in-

¹ He seems to have been specially impressed by the nude figure of San Sebastian in that picture. The too accentuated muscles on the arms and legs of his figures Moretto may have adopted from this St. Sebastian by Titian.

² In his later time Moretto does seem occasionally to have thought of Titian. When he painted his "St. Magdalen at the Pharisee's House," signed "Alexander Morettus Brix. 1544," for the Convent Church of S. Giacomo at Monselice (now in S. Maria della Pietà at Venice), he appears to have paid a short visit to Venice, and *there* painted his portrait of Pietro Aretino. It stands to reason that during this visit he saw and studied many works of the great Venetian painters.

fluence on Moretto¹, and still less of any direct influence of Palma Vecchio on the art of this thoroughly original Brescian. This, again, is one of those purely imaginary assumptions that find their sole origin in the everlasting system of "influences" of the famed historians. Why, the forms of the Brescian, always elegant, are utterly different from the forms of the Bergamese; and then the deep golden tints of the latter are in striking contrast with the delicate silver tones in Moretto's paintings. His harmonies of colour are as original as they are graceful—they delight the eye.²

Moretto, in contrast to his rival Romanino, is hardly ever negligent in his works: pictures intended for village churches are painted as lovingly and carefully as those for the town. Moretto may be said to have worked almost exclusively for his native town and the province of Brescia, and it is there that nearly the whole work of his life is still to be found.³ He was, therefore, little known beyond the frontiers of the Brescian district. The "Anonymus" of Morelli has not dropped a syllable about him, a certain proof

¹ Even the otherwise fanciful A. F. Rio ("Léonard de Vinci et son Ecole," p. 306) remarks: "La différence qui continua de subsister entre sa manière (Moretto's) et celle de l'école Vénitienne n'a pu échapper qu'à des observateurs superficiels."

² Father Lanzi describes the harmony of colours in Moretto as follows: "Il più che lo caratterizzi è un graziosissimo giuoco di bianco e di seuro in masse non grandi, ma ben temperate fra loro e ben contraposte . . . ama per lo più fondi assai chiari, dai quali le figure risaltano mirabilmente . . . poco adopera nei panni l'azzurro, più gradisce di unire insieme in un quadro varie specie di rosso di gialli, e così di altri colori."—*Stor. Pitt.* iii. 141.

³ If we except two pictures for S. Andrea and S. Francesco of Bergamo, one for S. Celso at Milan, a few for churches at Verona, one for Monselice, one for Trent, and one for Lonigo, Moretto seems to have worked only for his immediate fatherland.

that Moretto was then held in no sort of repute at Venice. His fame, like that of his pupil G. B. Moroni, dates only from about half a century ago. But even in our time this great master is not appreciated according to his deserts, either in Italy or abroad. The galleries of Tuscany possess not a single work of his.¹ Rome has only one, and that among his weakest, namely, the entirely repainted Mary enthroned between Saints Jerome and Bartholomew, at the Vatican Gallery.² So, if my young friends wish to know more about this refined and elegant painter, they would do well to stay a few days at Brescia, where nearly every church has a Moretto to show, and some have several. His earliest picture, not signed with his name, but dated 1518, is perhaps the "Christ bearing the Cross, with the donor kneeling," at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (No. 132).³ It is there ascribed to Titian, but Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle rightly discern in it the charac-

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe the male portrait (No. 493) at the Palazzo Pitti to Moretto. Apart from the texture and conception, the mere shape of the hands in the picture might have taught them better.

² This totally ruined picture is of his latest time. About twenty years ago it belonged to Count Costa of Piacenza, who, injured as it was, had it restored—that is, *repainted*, by Brisson of Milan, and afterwards sold it to a Roman picture-dealer. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call this painting "a fair and well-preserved specimen of the master" (II. 416).

³ The great "lunetta" in the Fabbriciera of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Brescia (Coronation of the Virgin, with Saints) bears the signature: "Alexander Brix. faciebat." This picture, which in many ways recalls Jerome Romanino, must on no account be attributed to Alessandro Moretto, the forms being so different from Bonvicino's. Here also Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 397) blindly follow Signor Fenaroli, and do not hesitate to assign this feeble work to Moretto. This lunetta may, perhaps, turn out to be the work of *Alessandro* Romanino, a younger brother of Jerome.

teristics of the Brescian school. In this little picture, as well as in the "Christ at the Grave, between the Saints Jerome and Dorothy," at S. Maria in Calchera (Brescia), and in several other pictures of his early time—at Sir H. Layard's, Venice, at Signor Cereda-Bonomi's, Milan—we note the absence as yet of that beautiful silver tint, so characteristic of the master, which distinguishes his works from 1521 until 1541; after that his colour becomes heavier, the flesh spongy and brick-coloured. The best works of Moretto are to be found in the churches of Brescia (S. Nazzaro, S. Clemente, choir of S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Eufemia), and out of Italy, in the Belvedere of Vienna.¹

The drawings of Moretto are rare; one is to be found in the Collection of the Academy at Venice, several in the ante-room of the Town Gallery at Brescia.

The "Glory of Mary and Elisabeth" (No. 197), at the Berlin Gallery, is but an indifferent work; still it gives a more favourable idea of the master than his second picture in that gallery, the "Adoration of the Shepherds" (No. 187).

Of *Girolamo Romanino*, the rival of Moretto, the catalogue of the Berlin Gallery quotes three pictures. We shall examine them later on; but first we have to make room for a few corrections of data given in the catalogue about this master.

Romanino was born at Brescia, not at Romano. His ancestors, indeed, came from Romano, a small town close to the Brescian frontier, but within the territory of Ber-

¹ Among the better-known pupils and imitators of Moretto are—Giovan Battista Moroni, of Bergamo; Luca Mombello, of Orzinuovi (see his picture at the Bishop's Palace, Brescia); Agostino Galeazzi, of Brescia (picture at the Bishop's Palace, Brescia); Francesco Richini, of the Val Sabbia (pictures at S. Maria della Pace, Brescia), &c.

gamo. His grandfather Luchino already bore the surname of Romanino. In a document of the year 1517, communicated by Grasselli (Abecedario), we read: "Magistro Hieronimo de Romani, filio che fù de *maistro* Romano da Brexa."¹ So that Romanino's father was a painter too, and probably the first instructor of his sons, for Girolamo had two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro (born 1490), who were also painters, and probably his assistants.² Stefano Rizzi, whom the local writers name as the teacher of Romanino, is quite an unknown master. But I have grounds for throwing out the conjecture that Romanino must have been influenced in his youth more by Vincenzo Civerchio than by Ferramola.³ In the years 1509 to 1513 he appears to have lived and laboured partly at Padua, and partly also at Venice; here he took Giorgione for his pattern, and then it was that he acquired his brilliant golden colouring. In 1514 Romanino was back at Brescia; his grandest work, the great altar-piece in the church S. Francesco, if I am not mistaken, dates from that year. The beautiful frame that encloses this great picture, which was made by Stefano Lamberti of Brescia,⁴ in 1502, has induced several German writers to believe that the picture itself was of the same date. Romanino's best period is that between the years 1510 and 1520; it was during that time that he painted, amongst others, his pictures for S. Gius-

¹ The inscription on the picture for S. Giustina at Padua is "Hieronymi Rumani de Brixia opus;" that on a picture at Salò is likewise "Hieronymi Rumani de Brixia opus 1529."

² See Fenaroli, *Dizion. d. art. Bresciani*, p. 203.

³ It is known that Civerchio worked at Brescia from 1493 till at least 1504; nay, his picture, the *Pietà*, at the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, there ascribed to Giambellino, is of the year 1509 (see Fenaroli as above, p. 164).

⁴ See Fenaroli as above, p. 164.

tina at Padua (now in the Town Gallery there), and for S. Francesco, S. Maria in Calchera, and S. Giovanni Evangelista, all at Brescia; and to the same period belongs the fine Giorgionesque Portrait of a Cavalier, formerly at Countess Fenaroli's house, where it was ascribed to Titian.¹

In Romanino's large pictures for S. Giustina and S. Francesco, we already find that *harmony of colours* which became characteristic of the Brescian school. Moretto, from 1521 onwards, only developed, and perhaps refined it. Romanino in his later years became careless, and sometimes slovenly, of which it would not be difficult to find specimens.² He, like Moretto, was little known outside the district of Brescia. Few can have surpassed him as a fresco-painter, of which his wall-paintings in the Val Camonica, at Cremona, at Trent (the Castle), and at Brescia, furnish proof. Amateurs now and then confound him with Moretto.³

¹ It represents a young man of quality in a golden cap, with white feathers, and a brocade dress striped with black and gold; he holds his sword by the hilt. Now in the possession of the Countess's heirs.

² Among the numerous scholars of this master, the following may be mentioned here: Altobello Melloni, of Cremona (see Morelli's "Anonymus," p. 37, "discepolo de Armanin," meaning, doubtless, Romanin). Compare his frescoes in Cremona Cathedral.

Giovan Francesco Bembo, called Bembino, of Cremona (frescoes in Cremona Cathedral).

Calisto Piazza of Lodi (compare his pictures of the years 1524-25, at the Town Gallery of Brescia and S. Maria in Calchera).

Francesco Prato, of Caravaggio (Manerbio, Chiesetta dell' Annunziata).
Sebastiano Aragonese, of Brescia (Torre on L. Garda).

Girolamo Muziano, of Brescia (Rome, Doria-Pamfili Gallery, and elsewhere).

Lattanzio Gambara, his son-in-law (frescoes in Via del Gambaro, at Brescia).

³ I will here quote an instance accessible to all. On the organ-wings

The Berlin Gallery has two pictures by this master, Nos. 151 and 157. The former, "The Dead Christ bewailed by His kinsfolk," is a work of his middle period, not very correct in drawing, but full of action and luminous colour; it once adorned the church of S. Faustino at Brescia. The other, the "Virgin enthroned with the Child and Saints," belongs to the master's early time. It came from S. Francesco into the possession of Count Teodoro Lecchi (Fenaroli, "Dizion." 213). But where any influence of Palma Vecchio is visible in this picture, is really more than I can say (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 370). As far as I know, Palma never was in the Brescian district, but stayed with hardly any break at Venice; and during the years that Romanino spent on Paduan soil (1510—13), Palma was not yet celebrated, nor had he worked out his magnificent colouring. Both Palma and Romanino pursued a common aim, both had chosen Giorgione for their pattern, and hence it may be that we sometimes find in their paintings the same Giorgionesque harmonies.

The catalogue names a third picture as the work of Romanino, namely, the "Judith" (No. 155). But the

that came from the church of Sts. Faustinus and Jovita to that of S. Maria at Lovere on the Lago d'Iseo, there is painted on the outside the "Annunciation," by Ferramola (1518); on the inside are the Saints Jovita and Faustinus, surrounded by frolicking putti, and this last picture is to any connoisseur a highly characteristic work of Romanino. But as tradition ascribes these two saints to Moretto, they are generally looked at and admired as his work. Even Fenaroli quotes them as works of Moretto ("Dizion." p. 123), and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle willingly follow their Brescian guide (ii. 396). Yet the forms of hand and ear are very different in the two masters, to say nothing of the conception. In the collection of the Ambrosiana, at Milan, there is a good drawing by Romanino of the "Woman taken in Adultery" (third room); another in the Uffizi Collection, "Studies of Children," No. 1465.

flesh-colour in this woman is too cold, the drawing too hard, the execution too timid and cramped for Romanino;¹ nor has she the drooping corners of the mouth so characteristic of his women. The Marchesa Arconati-Visconti, at Milan, has a similar picture; and this, too, passed for a work of Romanino, till the process of restoration brought to light the real author's name. The signature runs: "Fzci CARAVAGIENSIS OPVS," that is, work of Francesco Prato of Caravaggio, a pupil and imitator of Romanino.² He is sometimes very like his master, but never so thoughtful and lifelike in conception, so free and broad in execution; his shadows are more sooty and opaque, and the drawing tamer than in Romanino.

Besides the above-named masters of Brescia, we meet in these rooms with a third Brescian painter, *Giovan Girolamo Savoldo*, of the same age as Romanino, and perhaps his fellow-pupil. He visited Florence in 1508, and we find him enrolled as master in the Painters' guild there (*Hieronymus de Savoldis de Brixia*); his stay, however, cannot have been of long duration, as none of his works known to us betray the slightest Florentine influence. Later on, he settled at Venice, and there studied the works of Giambellino (*S. Giovan Crisostomo*, of the

¹ The original may probably be brought home to Romanino; though I cannot say where it is now to be found. Compare this "Judith" with the "Herodias" of another scholar of Romanino, Calisto Piazza da Lodi, No. 7 on the ground-floor of the Belvedere at Vienna.

² By this *Francesco Prato* of Caravaggio, who is not to be confounded, as some writers do, with the Florentine goldsmith (from the town of Prato) mentioned by Vasari ("Vita di Francesco Salviati"), there are pictures at S. Agata and S. Francesco, at Brescia, and a "Descent from the Cross," signed with his name, in a small church at Manerbio (near Brescia). Other pictures of the master bear the name either of Calisto da Lodi (S. Rocco at Brescia) or of Romanino himself (Madonna, at the Town Gallery of Bergamo, No. 162).

year 1513) and Titian.¹ The most important work of this rather rare master is in the Brera Gallery at Milan (No. 142). A replica of his "Venetian Lady," as she is styled in the Berlin Catalogue (No. 307), or "St. Magdalen," as she used to be called, was a short time ago still in the house of Count Fenaroli, at Brescia, but has lately been purchased by the picture-dealer Baslini, and sold to the National Gallery, London. Carlo Ridolfi ("Vite," &c. i. 354) mentions such a picture as belonging to the Averoldi house, at Brescia: "ed in casa Averolda una figura della Maddalena, involta in drappo col vaso dell' alabastro, incamminata al sepolcro, celebre pittura, della quale si sono tratte molte copie. Madame Ardier, ambasciatrice francese, aveva una delle Maddalene suddette . . . e in casa Antelmi (of Brescia) vi è un Deposito di croce." This last picture was in the House of Torre, at Brescia, before it came into the Gallery of Berlin (No. 307*a*).

THE BERGAMESE.

On the school of BERGAMO I have already found occasion to write, if hastily, yet, on the whole, sufficiently, in the two preceding chapters devoted to the galleries of Munich and Dresden. I will, therefore, only remark in passing, that the famous portrait-painter, *Giovan Battista Moroni* could hardly have been born so early as 1510, but more likely about 1525, and also not anywhere near Brescia. His native place, Bondo, near Albino, in the Serio valley, lies within half-a-dozen miles of Bergamo. Neither did he die at Brescia, but at Bergamo. I do not know of any

¹ I certainly cannot share the opinion of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in ascribing to Savoldo the aged Giambellino's small Madonna behind the chief altar of Bergamo Cathedral (ii. 419).

dated pictures of his belonging to the "forties" of the century. The pictures of his early days (1545—1550), for instance, the Madonna, No. 252 of the Brera Gallery, Milan (a copy after his master Moretto, all but the figure of the Donor), still have their flesh invariably of a reddish brick colour. The best period of Moroni falls between the years 1556—1565. The "Portrait of a Young Man," at the Berlin Gallery (No. 167), with the year 1553, bears the earliest date known to me of this master. In this picture the form of the hand, with the pointed finger-tips, is still much the same as that of Moretto. Very superior too is the "Portrait of a Scholar" (No. 193a).

Because of some rebuilding going on in the gallery, I was unable to see the male portrait (No. 188) ascribed to another great portrait-painter of Bergamo, *Giovanni de Busi*, called *Cariani*. Another portrait, which in Waagen's Catalogue was still ascribed to this master, has with better knowledge been transferred by the new directors to John of Calcar, a scholar and imitator of Titian. Whoever wishes to know Cariani must hunt him up at Bergamo and in the collections at Milan; it is only there that one can become intimate with him. I have never yet come across a work of Cariani's in those galleries of Germany that are known to me, provided always that the Giorgionesque or rather Palmesque portrait at the Munich Gallery really belongs not to him, but to Palma Vecchio.¹

THE LOMBARDS.

The Adda separates the Bergamese hill-country from the Milanese plain. At Canonica, the frontier town of

¹ I am told that there was once a good picture by Cariani in the Schönborn Collection at Pommersfelden.

Bergamo province, the ear is still saluted by the guttural Bergamese; across the Adda bridge, at Vaprio, they already speak the Milanese dialect. And it is exactly down to Vaprio that the school of painting also extends whose focus is to be found at Milan; I mean the Milanese-Lombard school.

The stately structures of Milan Cathedral, and the Certosa near Pavia, gave a great stimulus, especially in the first half of the 15th century, to sculpture, thrusting painting meanwhile somewhat into the background; hence, under the reign of Filippo Maria Visconti (1405—1447), we meet with few painters of name (Michelino and the Zavattari, the portrait-painter Zanetto Bugatto, Costantino Zenone da Vaprio, Leonardo Ponzoni, and so on). Francesco Sforza, on the contrary, seems to have favoured painters as much as other artists; and under him the painters Bonifacio Bembo, otherwise called Facio da Valdarno, and the Cremonese Cristoforo Moretti distinguished themselves. Of the works of these two masters only a few fragments have come down to us.¹ At that very time, however (1455—1466), the Brescian Vincenzo Foppa was making himself noted, and it is to this powerful and (I may say) great master that Milan, where he lived and worked, is indebted for her principal school of painting. Out of it came forth—Zenale and Buttinone of Treviglio, perhaps also Giovanni Donato da Montorfano;²

¹ The Poldi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan possesses a signed Madonna of Cristoforo Moretti; to Bonifacio Bembo belong the life-size portraits of Francesco Sforza and his consort, Bianca Maria Visconti, in the church of S. Agostino at Cremona, and probably the fragment of a fresco-painting in the church dell' Annunziata at Abbiategrasso, of the year 1472. Facio Bembo died in 1496.

² There are wall-paintings by him in the refectory of S. Maria delle

Bartolommeo Suardi of Milan, who afterwards studied under Bramante, and was therefore called Bramantino; Ambrogio da Fossano, named Borgognone; Ambrogio Bevilacqua;¹ Vincenzo Civerchio of Crema; Macrino of Alba;² Bernardino de' Conti of Pavia, &c.

But in the last decade of the fifteenth century the Milanese school split into two branches, one of which was directly dependent on Leonardo da Vinci, the other only indirectly influenced by him.

The school of LODI is represented chiefly by the Piazza family.³

Among representatives of the PAVIAN school there is none above mediocrity, except perhaps Bernardino dei

Grazie, in a chapel of S. Pietro at Gessate, and in the courtyard of the Ambrosiana at Milan.

¹ There are works by this master in the parish church of Landriano, near Milan, of the year 1483; in the church of S. Vito of Soma, there ascribed to Borgognone; at the Brera Gallery, of the year 1502 (No. 476); at the Municipal Gallery of Bergamo (No. 5, the Enthroned Virgin and Child, between the Baptist and a sainted bishop (not named); and elsewhere.

² By this master there are several works at the Turin Gallery, in the churches of Asti, at Alba, in the Certosa near Pavia. The canopy in the earlier Madonnas of Borgognone and Macrino is derived from their master Foppa. By Macrino it was passed on to the school of Vercelli, viz., Gaudenzio Ferrari, Sodoma, Defendente Ferrari, Girolamo Giovnone, &c.

³ Old Bertino, who, according to Filarete, lost his life in the Po, has left no works behind, but his descendants have, viz., the brothers Martino and Albertino Piazza, in several churches of Lodi and at Castiglione d'Adda; Albertino also, in the Town Gallery of Bergamo, the "Marriage of St. Catherine" (No. 199), there assigned to the Roman (?) school, and at Signor Frizzoni-Sali's, Bergamo, an "Adoration of the Shepherds;" Martino Piazza, at the Ambrosiana, Milan, a small picture

signed with the monogram *AP*, (Martinus Platea Pinxit), a "John the Baptist" with the same signature at the barrister Bossi's, Milan; in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia, a small signed Madonna (No. 79), &c.

Conti. Lorenzo and Bernardino Fasolo, Pierfrancesco Sacchi and his feeble scholar, Cesare Magni¹ are nothing but imitators, who had well got up the technic of their profession, and were able to produce works agreeable to the eye because of their pleasing harmony of colours, but which leave the mind and heart untouched. Moreover, their figures all possess more or less that light gracefulness of expression, attitude, and movement, which not only was peculiar to the Italian in those happy times for art, but which in part he possesses to this day; so that his artistic efforts, however empty and meaningless they may sometimes be, still contrast favourably with those of other nations, and are liked by the great public.

At VERCELLI the artist family of the Oldoni,² who had moved there from Milan, worked from the middle of the fifteenth century, as another artist family, that of the Ferrari,³ likewise Milanese, did at Casale.

If I am not much mistaken, Macrino d'Alba also must have worked⁴ for some length of time at Vercelli in the

¹ Baron von Rumohr ("Three Journeys to Italy") has confounded this Cesare Magni (in a picture then at Duke Melzi's, Milan, now at Mr. Cook's in Richmond), with Cesare da Sesto: "In the Melzi house, a Madonna, the Child a whole figure, by Cesare da Sesto, in a fine landscape. Here also there is something of Leonardo. I should have taken Cesare da Sesto for a pupil of his if he had not lived too late. Here we read: Cesar Triagrius (Magnus) pinxit 1530." There are pictures by Cesare Magni in Vigevano Cathedral, and at Saronno.

² Boniforte Oldoni worked from 1463 till about 1510. His three sons were called Ercole, Giosuè, and Eleazar. There is a signed fresco-painting by Giosuè in the parish church of Verrone near Biella; by Eleazar, a small "Adoration of the Infant Christ," signed, at Countess Castelnovo's, Turin.

³ From this latter family sprang the somewhat rough painter Gram-morseo, by whom there is a signed picture in the Bishop's Palace at Vercelli.

⁴ We know that he afterwards worked for many years at the Abbey

last decade of the fifteenth century; he may therefore have had some influence on the first development of Girolamo Giovenone, of Eleazar Oldoni,¹ and even of Defendente Ferrari of Chivasso.

Among Leonardo da Vinci's direct pupils at Milan, of whom we possess authenticated works, we reckon Giovan Antonio Boltraffio, Marco d'Oggionno, Andrea Sala, called Salaïno, *i.e.* little Sala; Giovan Antonio Bazzi, called Sodoma at Siena; Cesare da Sesto; and the so-called Giampietrino.² Among those *indirectly* influenced by him—the Milanese Ambrogio de Predis,³ Bernardino dei Conti of

of Lucedio (near Casale), and was therefore known as “pittore di Lucedio.”

¹ Compare the signed picture by Macrino, of his early time (1490—1495), at the gallery of the Städelsches Institut at Frankfurt (No. 5), with the pictures of Girolamo Giovenone at the Turin Gallery, of the year 1514 (No. 43), and with the small picture signed “Eleazar de Oldonibus,” at Countess Castelnovo's, Turin. Of Defendente Ferrari the picture-gallery at Stuttgart possesses a painting signed with the monogram



(Ferrarius pinxit), “Christ in the Temple,” of the year 1526;

H.R.H. Princess Charles of Darmstadt, the fortunate owner of the *original* Madonna of Holbein, has a “St. Catherine;” the Turin Gallery several works, the Town Gallery of Bergamo an “Adoration of the Shepherds” (No. 283), signed with the same monogram. This last picture betrays the influence of Parmigianino's engravings.

² I reckon among the maturest works of Giampietrino the large altarpieces in the church S. Marino at Pavia, and in S. Sepolcro (sacristy) at Milan. The first one, ascribed to Fasolo, represents the enthroned Mary with the undressed Infant Christ on her knee, who blesses St. Jerome kneeling before Him; on the left side of the throne St. John the Baptist. The other panel represents Mary and Joseph worshipping the new-born Babe.

³ Ambrogio Preda, in Latin de Predis, an unknown painter, whom I have the pleasure of introducing to my readers, appears to have been a great favourite of the Emperor Maximilian I. In the Ambras Collection at Vienna we find a portrait of that Emperor in profile by Preda.

Pavia, Andrea Solari of Milan, Bernardino Luini, Gaudenzio Ferrari, &c.

The Emperor wears a black cap, his breast is adorned with the order of the Golden Fleece, the long light-brown hair falls heavily on the shoulders; the portrait is on poplar wood, and signed, "Ambrosius de p̃dis (predis) m̃laneñ (milanensis) 1502" (see Nagler's "Monogrammists," i. 414). This good painting is unfortunately dirty, and moreover the eyes and mouth partly repainted. A small washed sketch in pen-and-ink for this portrait is in the collection of the Venetian Academy, under the name of Leonardo; on the same page we also find a sketch for the profile portrait of the Emperor's second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza, niece of Lodovico il Moro, and moreover the study of an Infant Christ blessing (photograph by Antonio Perini at Venice, No. 178). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention this portrait of Maximilian I., but transfer it to the Schönborn Gallery, and besides ascribe it to Ambrogio Borgognone (ii. 50). To this Ambrogio Preda I make bold also to restore without hesitation the celebrated profile portrait of Bianca Maria Sforza in the Ambrosiana at Milan (there erroneously called Beatrice Sforza), which all writers hitherto have assigned to Leonardo. In this portrait, Ambrogio Preda must have represented the noble lady as the affianced bride of the emperor, therefore in the year 1493. She wears the same pearls on her neck and bosom (probably the present of her imperial bridegroom) as in the above-named sketch in pen-and-ink at the Academy of Venice. The female portrait in the Ambrosiana is likewise painted on poplar-wood. In 1525 this picture was in possession of Taddeo Contarino of Venice, and is thus described by the "Anonymus" of Morelli, p. 65: "El retratto in profilo insino alle spalle de Madonna . . . fiola (ought to be nipote) del Signor Lodovico (il Moro de Milano) maritata nello Imperatore Massimiliano fù de mano de . . . milanese." The painter's name was unknown to the "Anonymus," perhaps even to the owner of the picture, but no connoisseur in Venice at that time ever thought of ascribing this portrait to Leonardo da Vinci.

A third portrait by this Ambrogio Preda is in my possession. It represents a young man with long, light-brown hair, and a small white cap; full face, and likewise painted on poplar-wood. And this portrait also was formerly assigned to Leonardo da Vinci.

Among many drawings at the Uffizi, erroneously ascribed to Leonardo, there are two, slightly washed with Indian ink; one represents a young woman, elegantly dressed, almost a front face, the forehead adorned with a Sevigné. At the top of the page we read, on the

Bartolommeo Suardi, called Bramantino, after completing his studies under the great Donato Bramante (who worked at Milan from 1474 to 1499), founded a school of his own at Milan about the year 1500.

Zenale and Buttinone, the brothers Ambrogio and Bernardino Borgognone, A. Bevilacqua, Giovannni da Montorfano, as also Civerchio and others, quietly held on their course in the direction given them by Vincenzo Foppa, unmoved by influences either from Bramante or from Leonardo da Vinci.

Of this specifically Milanese school of the 15th century, we have already found a work at the Dresden Gallery, by Ambrogio Bevilacqua (there called Borgognone); and the Berlin Gallery, according to the catalogue, has one picture by Zenale, and two by Ambrogio Borgognone.

right hand, "Beatrice Estense," on the left, "Leonardo da Vinci." This is probably the portrait of Isabella d'Aragona, and not of Beatrice d'Este (M. Philpot's, Florence, No. 2888).

The second of these washed drawings represents the head of a boy covered with a cap, three-quarters face; this sheet has the inscription: "Francesco Sforza Conte di Pavia figlio di Gio. Galeazzo Sforza è d'Isabella d'Aragona, pronipote di Lodovico Sforza il Moro, disegnato da Lionardo da Vinci" (Philpot, No. 2887).

Both drawings betray the same hand, and perfectly agree in their rendering of forms with the above-mentioned three likenesses painted by Ambrosius de Predis.

The well-known miniature painter of Modena, Christophorus de Predis, seems to have been a relation, perhaps the father, of Ambrogio. There is a very fine miniature of his in the Royal Library at Turin, signed:

G3. MA

DVX. MLI. QVINTVS

OPVS. XPOFORI. DE PREDIS

MVT. DIE 3. APRILIS, 1474.

I wish it were in my power to cite other works of Ambrogio Preda; may it fall to the lot of some of my younger readers to discover more portraits by an able Milanese painter so highly honoured by the Sforzas!

It is only in a doubting way that the Madonna, No. 90a, is assigned to Zenale by the discriminating new directors of the Gallery. I think that this weak picture does not belong to the Milanese school, but that it is most likely an old copy or imitation after Bernardino Conti. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle declare it to be painted in the *manner* of Zenale; but I venture to ask them, *where* authenticated works of Zenale's are to be seen?

Vasari (vii. 127) says: "There was, moreover, at Milan, a Bernardino da Trevio (Treviglio), engineer and architect of the cathedral, an excellent draughtsman and much honoured of Lionardo da Vinci, albeit in painting his manner be rough and something dry." In this Zenale, then, on the testimony of Vasari's informant, we have to look more for the engineer and architect than the painter. Certain it is, that no *authentic* picture by Zenale is now to be found. The large altar-piece, the "St. Martin," behind the principal altar of the parish church of Treviglio, is indeed a joint work of Zenale and Buttinone (a copy of the original contract is preserved in the archives of the church); but we cannot tell what part of the work is Zenale's, and what Buttinone's. Even Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle must confess that it is hard to distinguish Zenale's figures from those of his fellow-workman. And the same is true of the all but obliterated wall-painting by these two masters in the Griffi chapel at St. Peter's in Gessate, Milan; in viewing these frescoes, we are encountered by the same difficulty. Notwithstanding this, and their own previous confession, the renowned historians would fain distinguish in these all but invisible paintings the manner of one painter from that of the other, for in Buttinone's work they recognise the character of the Paduan school, derived either from the Mantegnesques or

from Carlo Crivelli (!), and in Zenale's work more gracefulness of form, traceable to Leonardo da Vinci. I fancy this "Paduan" or Squarcionesque pedigree of Buttinone may have been suggested to our historians more by the so-called Buttinone in the Borromeo Gallery at Isola Bella, than by straining their eyes at those frescoes. That little Borromeo picture of the enthroned Virgin and Child, accompanied by John the Baptist and St. Justina (the favourite saint of the Paduans), does indeed look very Squarcionesque. It bears the inscription in gold letters: "Bernardinus *Bettinonus* (*sic*) de Trivilio." On a coat of arms at the bottom, we read the motto adopted by the Borromeo family in the 15th century, "Humilitas." To my thinking, this little picture has nothing to do with those authentic works of Buttinone and Zenale at Treviglio and at S. Pietro-in-Gessate; on the contrary, both in the type of the figures and in technic, it agrees entirely with the other works of the Dalmatian *Gregorio Schiavone*, and his work I pronounce it to be.¹ *Gregorio* seems to have painted this little picture for the Borromeo (Vitaliani) family, settled at Padua. The signature is a *manifest* forgery.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention, further, as a work of Buttinone the male portrait in the Borromeo house at Milan.² On the longish cartellino at the bottom (exactly the shape of the cartellini in genuine pictures of Antonello da Messina), the name of the author has been effaced, and that of Leonardo substituted. The workmanship points to an imitator of Antonello, and even the *green*

¹ The National Gallery in London possesses also a few pictures of *Gregorio Schiavone*.

² Yet even they, looking at the picture, seem to have thought of F. Mazzola (ii. 36).

It is only in a doubting way that the Madonna, No. 90a, is assigned to Zenale by the discriminating new directors of the Gallery. I think that this weak picture does not belong to the Milanese school, but that it is most likely an old copy or imitation after Bernardino Conti. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle declare it to be painted in the *manner* of Zenale; but I venture to ask them, *where* authenticated works of Zenale's are to be seen?

Vasari (vii. 127) says: "There was, moreover, at Milan, a Bernardino da Trevio (Treviglio), engineer and architect of the cathedral, an excellent draughtsman and much honoured of Lionardo da Vinci, albeit in painting his manner be rough and something dry." In this Zenale, then, on the testimony of Vasari's informant, we have to look more for the engineer and architect than the painter. Certain it is, that no *authentic* picture by Zenale is now to be found. The large altar-piece, the "St. Martin," behind the principal altar of the parish church of Treviglio, is indeed a joint work of Zenale and Buttinone (a copy of the original contract is preserved in the archives of the church); but we cannot tell what part of the work is Zenale's, and what Buttinone's. Even Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle must confess that it is hard to distinguish Zenale's figures from those of his fellow-workman. And the same is true of the all but obliterated wall-painting by these two masters in the Griffi chapel at St. Peter's in Gessate, Milan; in viewing these frescoes, we are encountered by the same difficulty. Notwithstanding this, and their own previous confession, the renowned historians would fain distinguish in these all but invisible paintings the manner of one painter from that of the other, for in Buttinone's work they recognise the character of the Paduan school, derived either from the Mantegnesques or

from Carlo Crivelli (!), and in Zenale's work more gracefulness of form, traceable to Leonardo da Vinci. I fancy this "Paduan" or Squarcionesque pedigree of Buttinone may have been suggested to our historians more by the so-called Buttinone in the Borromeo Gallery at Isola Bella, than by straining their eyes at those frescoes. That little Borromeo picture of the enthroned Virgin and Child, accompanied by John the Baptist and St. Justina (the favourite saint of the Paduans), does indeed look very Squarcionesque. It bears the inscription in gold letters: "Bernardinus *Bettinonus* (*sic*) de Trivilio." On a coat of arms at the bottom, we read the motto adopted by the Borromeo family in the 15th century, "Humilitas." To my thinking, this little picture has nothing to do with those authentic works of Buttinone and Zenale at Treviglio and at S. Pietro-in-Gessate; on the contrary, both in the type of the figures and in technic, it agrees entirely with the other works of the Dalmatian *Gregorio Schiavone*, and his work I pronounce it to be.¹ *Gregorio* seems to have painted this little picture for the Borromeo (*Vitaliani*) family, settled at Padua. The signature is a *manifest* forgery.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention, further, as a work of Buttinone the male portrait in the Borromeo house at Milan.² On the longish cartellino at the bottom (exactly the shape of the cartellini in genuine pictures of Antonello da Messina), the name of the author has been effaced, and that of Leonardo substituted. The workmanship points to an imitator of Antonello, and even the *green*

¹ The National Gallery in London possesses also a few pictures of *Gregorio Schiavone*.

² Yet even they, looking at the picture, seem to have thought of F. Mazzola (ii. 36).

ground of the painting indicates *Filippo Mazzola*, to whom, I think, I may without hesitation assign this portrait. Compare it with Mazzola's other portraits, with that in the Brera Gallery, or with another male portrait at the Berlin Gallery (No. 225, here ascribed to Boltraffio), and I defy you to come to any other conclusion.

Meantime, a genuine work of Bernardino Buttinone, signed with his name, has lately come into the possession of the Brera Gallery, at Milan. It came from the Castellarco house. The middle compartment represents the enthroned Virgin, with the Infant Christ standing erect on her right knee; to the left of the throne an angel looking towards Mary (recalling strongly the manner of Bramantino); the right wing of the triptych holds St. Bernardinus, the left St. Leonardus. The signature runs: "Bernardinus. Bu de Trivilio 1484" (?).

In this work, Buttinone appears to me as a pupil of Foppa, and as a very indifferent painter. But enough of him; let us dwell a little while on his fellow-workman, Zenale.

To Zenale Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe works that differ widely among themselves: for instance, as we saw above, the great polyptych of Vincenzo Foppa¹ in the Brera (once in S. Maria delle Grazie, at Bergamo); further, the altar-piece which once stood in the church of S. Ambrogio ad nemus at Milan, under the name of Leonardo da Vinci, but when moved to the Brera Gallery it was quite

¹ The "Anonymus" of Morelli (p. 52) describes it thus: "La Ancona dell' altar grande della N. D. con le due figure per ciascun lato in nichii dorati, a guazzo, fù de man de maestro Vincenzo Bressano vecchio (to distinguish him from Vincenzo Civerchio), come credo." This panel came to Milan after the suppression of the convent S. Maria delle Grazie.

arbitrarily assigned to Zenale, and has ever since been regarded by young and old as the principal work of Zenale. We have more to say of this picture further on. Again, they mention as a work of Zenale the small Madonna suckling her Babe, signed "Bernar . . . Zinalia," at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (Section Lochis, No. 148). Yet to any connoisseur at all intimate with the Lombard school, it is unmistakably a work of Ambrogio Borgognone, and the signature on the picture a clumsy forgery.

Zenale's "Scenes from the Life of St. Magdalen" in the Carmelite Church of Milan, cited by Lomazzo ("Trattato della Pittura," ii. 47), those others in the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, in the chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul at S. Francesco, &c., as well as his works at Brescia, have all perished; so that we are left quite in the dark about his merits as a painter. Lomazzo praises Zenale chiefly for his "foreshortenings."

Ambrogio da Fossano, called *Borgognone*, must have been born between the years 1450 and 1460, and at Milan, not Fossano. The Fossano or Fossani family still existed in Lombardy in recent times. It may have been Ambrogio's grandfather or great-grandfather that left the little Piedmontese town to settle at Milan;¹ one of his ancestors had probably lived some time in Flanders (then called Borgogna by the Italians), and had thus received the surname of Borgognone.² Ambrogio died at Milan, in

¹ His father, Stefano, is already "Mediolanensis," a native of Milan.

² The Michelozzo family, at Florence, had also the surname of Borgognone: "Lionardo, Michelozzo, Giovanni, fratelli e figliuoli di Bartolommeo di Gherardo Borgognoni" (Gaye, "Carteggio," etc. i. 117). Napoleone Citadella ("Notizie," etc. 671) mentions a metal founder of Ferrara, called Annibale Borgognone; and Zani, a certain Alfonso Borgognone of Cento, brass-founder. The race of the Borgognoni is

1523, probably of the plague. He had a brother Bernardino, somewhat younger, also a painter. Signor Enrico Andreossi of Milan (Via Clerici, No. 2), has a picture by the latter, signed with his name, and dated 1523, representing St. Rochus. Ambrogio Borgognone, who holds the same central place in the Milanese school of painting as P. Perugino in that of Perugia, Lorenzo Costa and Francia in that of Bologna, Panetti in that of Ferrara, and Francesco Morone in that of Verona, was, according to my view, a pupil of Vincenzo Foppa the elder, and the real master of Bernardino Luini, the Raphael of the Milanese school. Borgognone was certainly not influenced by Leonardo da Vinci, still less by Bernardino Zenale, as Girolamo Calvi has written down at random. He remains in all his works a thorough Lombard.¹ The first work

now quite unknown at Fossano. Alike characteristic of the Frenchman, and indicative of the historian's gravity, is the neat theory thrown out by Mons. A. J. Rio on the origin of the surname (as above, p. 184): "Ce surnom de Bourguignon, substitué partout à son nom de famille, ne se rapporte pas au lieu de sa naissance, puisque nous savons (?) qu'il était né à Fossano, en Piémont, mais il pourrait bien exprimer une *filiation artistique* entre lui et l'école qui, à l'époque où il dut faire son apprentissage, florissait dans les états des ducs de Bourgogne. Ce qui donne à cette conjecture beaucoup de vraisemblance, c'est que le style d'Ambrogio diffère radicalement de celui de tous les peintres Lombards ses contemporains, et que ses compositions et ses types offrent parfois une ressemblance frappante et qui ne serait être fortuite avec les compositions et les types d'un peintre Bolonais surnommé *la France*, et immortalisé dans l'histoire de la peinture chrétienne sous le nom de *Francesco Francia*." We know that Francia is an abbreviation of Francesco (Francia-Bigi, Francione, at Florence).

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however (ii. 43), find that Borgognone, in his frescoes at S. Simpliciano, reminds them of Perugino, Francia, and also Leonardo da Vinci; in S. Maria della Passione, of the *manner* of B. Peruzzi; in S. Ambrogio, of B. Luini, the "favourite pupil (!) of Leonardo."

which he executed for the Certosa at Pavia was painted in 1488—1489; his drawings for the stalls and the choir-door, which were finished by the Mantuan Bartolommeo de Polli, date from the year 1490.¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle make this Bartolommeo come from Pola (!), and place his work in the year 1486. The often mentioned altar-piece in the village church of Cremeno (Valsassina) is the work of a Lombard without character, and in no case belongs to Borgognone.

The "Enthroned Virgin and Child" (No. 51), at the Berlin Gallery, belongs to the early time of the master (1490—1500).

Pictures of the same period: at the Incoronata of Lodi, at the Certosa near Pavia, at Arona, at the Ambrosiana, in the Borromeo house, Milan,² at the London National Gallery, &c. The other "Enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints" (No. 52), must be assigned to a later time (1505—1510). His *chef d'œuvre* of this period is in S. Spirito at Bergamo, of 1508. The presence of St. Ambrose in the background is an allusion to the victory of Parabiago, won by the Milanese under Azzone Visconti, in 1336, through the intercession of that saint. The picture was most likely painted for some member of the Visconti family.

We now come to *Bernardino dei Conti*, a rare, and cer-

¹ See Archivio storico Lombardo, Anno vi. Memorie inedite sulla Certosa.

² The finest picture of this early time of the master is, in my opinion, the "Christ bearing the Cross, accompanied by Carthusian Monks," in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts at Pavia. In the background of this glorious painting is seen the Certosa of Pavia, on the front of which there is building going on still. It was not finished, therefore, till near the end of the 15th century, and by Amadeo.

tainly not unimportant master, of whom the Berlin Gallery can boast of possessing almost the only signed and dated picture.

No writer on art, except the unreliable Lomazzo, and after him, Orlandi, has left any record of this master. He is said to have been a Pavian, and as such he may have had his first lessons in art from Vincenzo Foppa, who, we know, often lived and worked in the native town of his wife, or rather from a pupil of Foppa, Vincenzo Civerchio of Crema. But Conti must afterwards have settled at Milan, and there received various influences, amongst others from Leonardo da Vinci.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle make short work of this Lombard painter (ii. 67), by introducing him without much ado as a pupil of Zenale, and then mentioning some few of his works, namely, the signed "Portrait of a Prelate of the year 1499" (No. 55), at the Berlin Gallery; a Virgin suckling her Babe at the Schleissheim collection; a replica of it at the Town Gallery of Bergamo; a Marriage of St. Catherine, at the same place; and lastly, a Madonna at the Poldi-Pezzoli collection, Milan.

But the Madonna at Schleissheim, and those two pictures at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (Nos. 126 and 254), can only be regarded, I think, as atelier works; the Italian signature on one of the two latter (No. 126), giving the year 1501, was not inscribed by Bernardino himself.

On the other hand, both genuine and well preserved, though not one of his better works, seems to me the Madonna with the sucking Babe, in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection (No. 59).¹ If this picture be really the work

¹ In the Borromeo house at Milan there is an old, but inferior, copy of this Madonna.

of Bernardino dei Conti, as I believe, then he, and not Zenale, is the true author of the Enthroned Mary with the Infant Christ blessing, the Four Fathers, and the kneeling family of Lodovico il Moro, at the Brera Gallery (No. 449); and also of the St. Ambrose, No. 166, at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (Section Lochis), there assigned to Zenale.

To the same master I would also ascribe the charming little picture of Mary nursing the Child, formerly in the Litta house at Milan, now in the Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; and this would have to be regarded as the best of his known works. Bernardino borrowed the head for this Madonna from a beautiful drawing of Leonardo's, now at the Louvre (Braun photo, 168).

In all the above-named pictures we find the same somewhat uncouth formation of the hand (similar to the hand in the pictures of Antonio del Pollajuolo), with the nails cut short, the same modelling of the Infant Christ, the same grey flesh-tints.

I remember to have seen in the house Castelbarco at Milan, the nearly life-size portrait, in profile, of a rather stout lady of rank; it was there ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, though it obviously belonged to our Bernardino de' Conti. This portrait is now in the possession of Mr. Alfred Morrison in London. Another good portrait, of a Young Man with his hand stretched out, went likewise to England from the house Archinto of Milan, and this likeness must also be ascribed to the same master as the large "Enthroned Virgin with the Sforza family," at the Brera Gallery (449). As for the so-called Self-portrait of Lucas van Leyden, at the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (No. 444), it seems to be only an old copy from a portrait by Bernardino,

supposing the author of the group of pictures which I have been naming to be really Bernardino de' Conti.

At the Art Exhibition of Turin, 1880, I saw a *second* signed and dated work by Bernardino Conti. It is the nearly life-size profile portrait of a Young Man, with long brown hair, wearing a black cap adorned with the order of St. Michael. The somewhat gloomy-looking cavalier wears a poniard at his side. The flesh-tints in this picture are also grey, as in other paintings by Conti. At the top of the panel we read: "Catellanus Trivulcius, ann. 26—1505;" at the bottom the inscription: "Bernardini Comitiss opus." This valuable portrait belongs to the heirs of the late senator Marchese Giorgio Pallavicino-Trivulzio of Milan. Catellanus Trivulcius may in all probability have been a natural son of the well-known French field-marshal Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. He is not mentioned in Pompeo Litta's book.

I could name some more pictures that betray the same origin, but I must here content myself with mentioning a few *drawings* of the same master, which are generally introduced to students under the name of Leonardo da Vinci.

One of these drawings is in the collection of the British Museum (in black chalk and gypsum); here we see Mary, with the undraped Infant Christ standing on her right knee, in the act of blessing. The loose hair of the Madonna comes down to her shoulders, the shape of the ear agrees exactly with that in the profile portrait of the boy Maximilian Sforza in the above-named No. 449 of the Brera Gallery, and is very different from the form of ear in Leonardo; the strokes, too, are drawn from right to left, and not, as is nearly always the case with Leonardo, from left to right. This superior drawing has been photo-

graphed by Braun under the name of Leonardo (No. 45). To the same master, and not to Leonardo, belongs also the well-executed drawing in silver-point at the Louvre (Braun, 169).

One more example of these drawings by my supposed Bernardino dei Conti, which in public collections are ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, is preserved in the Ambrosiana, namely, a *dotted* portrait in profile of young Maximilian Sforza (photograph by Marville, No. 127); it is a study from life for the Brera picture No. 449. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, following the crowd, ascribe this drawing also to Leonardo: ¹ a further proof, to my mind, that even those famed historians are no better acquainted with Leonardo da Vinci than the majority of writers who have hitherto expressed their minds on that great artist.

The repairs going on in the Gallery unfortunately prevented me from entering those rooms where the pictures of the Lombard-Milanese school are hung; I am therefore compelled, for the present at least, to put together a few hasty remarks only on those works of Leonardo's immediate pupils mentioned in the catalogue, that were in the rooms accessible to the public. According to the catalogue, these pictures belong to Boltraffio, to Balthasar Peruzzi, and to Francesco Melzi.

The noble and truly monumental figure of St. Barbara by *Boltraffio* or *Beltraffio* (No. 207), which at the end of last century was still in the sacristy of San Satiro at Milan, is among the few works of a large size that have come

¹ "We can scarcely hesitate to believe that the sketch was given by Lionardo, because *his drawing* of the boy Maximilian Sforza at the Ambrosiana was used for the occasion; but the execution again is as certainly that of one of his scholars," etc. (ii. 39).

down to us from this refined painter ; most of his pictures seem to have been destined for the interior of houses, and are therefore of small dimensions, some of them very small.¹ Of these there are a half-dozen at Milan in private possession,² two at Bergamo,³ and about another half-dozen in England.⁴ Except the St. Barbara at Berlin, I know of only two pictures by Boltraffio in any German or Austrian gallery. One is the charming Madonna at the Town Gallery of Pesth (No. 175) ; the other I saw in the Exhibition of Paintings at Munich, in 1869, under the false name of Francesco Melzi. It represents the Madonna, seen in front, presenting some flowers to the Infant Christ, who stands undraped on a balustrade, and leans forward. The ground is dark. The picture is in private possession, and measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in width ; it is, unfortunately, damaged by restoration.

¹ Among the larger works of Boltraffio I still reckon : " Mary with the Child, sitting in an open landscape, with John the Baptist, St. Sebastian, and the two kneeling donors," from the Casio house at Bologna, now in the Louvre Gallery, No. 72 ; and the " Madonna with the Child, seated in the cleft of a rock, with the same two Saints, John and Sebastian, and the donor Bassano da Ponte," a patrician of Lodi, for whose chapel in the cathedral of that place Boltraffio painted the picture in 1508. The pastil-drawing for the portrait of this donor may be seen at the Ambrosiana, among the drawings of Leonardo ; the picture itself, much restored, was sold some years ago by the picture-dealer Baslini, who had bought it at Bergamo, to a Count Palffy of Pressburg (?).

² Belonging to Dr. G. Frizzoni, to Counts Sola and Borromeo, to the Poldi collection, to the Ambrosiana, to the Author ; and one at Isola Bella.

³ In the Town Gallery, and at Signor Federico Antonio Frizzoni's.

⁴ In the upper corridor of the back church in the Monastero Maggiore at Milan, we see twenty al fresco painted pictures and busts of female martyrs. If I am not mistaken, some of them, as St. Catherine, Agnes, Agatha, and Apollonia, may belong to Boltraffio himself, the others are executed after his cartoons by assistants.

The epitaph of Boltraffio runs thus :

IO. ANTONIO BELTRAFIO ET
CONSILII ET MORVM GRAVITATE
SVIS CIVIBVS GRATISS. PROPINQVIORES
AMICI DESIDERIO AEGRE TEMPERANTES

p. VIXIT ANN. 49.

PICTVRAE AD QVAM PVERVM SORS
DETVLERAT STVDIA INTER SERIA NON
ABSTINVIT NEC SI QVID EFFINXIT
ANIMASSE OPVS MINVSQVAM SIMVLASSE
VISVS EST.

From this we gather, that Boltraffio did not apply himself seriously to art till rather late. And in fact, in 1490, when he was already twenty-three, we find him still a boarder at Leonardo's house. He came of a noble family of Milan, and in later years filled some public offices in his native place. He cannot, indeed, be regarded as a professional painter, but still less is he a mere dilettante. His pictures are all executed with the greatest industry, with the most loving care, and as far as his abilities would go, he tried to come up as near as possible to his great master. To delineate the human figure on a large scale, or human passions, was not his forte ; he succeeded better in expressing naïve innocence in children, and gentle grace in the Mother of God, and in devout women. To Boltraffio, and to no other, would I also assign the twenty Tondos al fresco in the upper gallery of S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore) at Milan. They represent female martyrs, and among them are heads that must be classed with the most exquisite things ever produced by the Milanese school. His portraits are all nobly conceived, and skilfully executed. Of the male portrait (No. 225) ascribed to him in the

catalogue, I have already expressed my opinion by proposing to the directors to assign it rather to Filippo Mazzola.¹

Besides Boltraffio's "St. Barbara," and Melzi's "Vertumnus and Pomona," a third little picture of the Leonardine school particularly attracted my attention; I mean the charming figure of "Caritas" (No. 109), mentioned in the catalogue as a work of B. Peruzzi, but which, according to my present (altered) opinion ought rather to be given to Sodoma. *Giovan Antonio Bazzi*, for that was Sodoma's real name, learned the first rudiments of his art from the painter on glass, Martino Spanzotti of Vercelli, but only ripened into an artist during the two years he spent at Milan with Leonardo da Vinci (1498—1500). Sodoma is therefore to be reckoned as one of the Milanese-Lombard school. Nay, I believe I should not be far wrong were I to maintain that the majority of the better works ascribed to Leonardo in private collections are by Giovan Antonio Bazzi. Thus, the magnificent Leda (Room I. of the Borghese Gallery) was, until a few years ago, ascribed to Vinci himself, and has only of late been banished into the Leonardine school; so a small and much darkened Madonna at the Town Gallery of Bergamo (Section Lochis, No. 207) still bears the name of Leonardo, though every connoisseur must recognise it as a work of Sodoma; and so with several other Madonnas in private collections, both in Italy and in England.² Young Bazzi, while at Milan, seems to have taken Leonardo for his

¹ There are some five pastil-drawings by Boltraffio, almost life-size, in the Ambrosiana, under the name of Leonardo da Vinci; two, representing a man and his wife, are extraordinarily beautiful.

² Also the Head of Christ in Indian-ink at the Albertina, Vienna (Braun, No. 90), belongs rather to Bazzi than to Leonardo.

model, not only in art, but even in personal appearance and fancies. All his life he loved to play the cavalier, and like Leonardo, always kept saddle-horses in his stable, and all kinds of queer animals in his house (see Vasari).

Again, if many of his works are ascribed to Vinci, it is not so very long ago that the beautiful drawing in red chalk at the Albertina—the sketch for his “Marriage of Alexander and Roxana”—was hailed by high and low, the specialist Passavant included, as an uncommonly fine drawing by Raphael of Urbino.¹ In the same Albertina, the fine life-size portrait, in black chalk, of a Young Man with long hair and black cap, seen in front, was likewise ascribed to Raphael, till the practised eye of Director Moritz Thausing gave it back to its true author, Sodoma. A similar male portrait in black chalk, at the British

¹ The three large wall-paintings by Sodoma in the upper storey of the Farnesina represent—(1) Young Alexander breaking-in Bucephalus; this fresco, utterly disfigured by a barbarous restoration, has for some time been ascribed to Vasari; (2) The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana; (3) the Family of Darius before Alexander. The Uffizi has a pen-and-ink sketch by Sodoma for the Marriage of Alexander, there ascribed to the “school of Raphael” (Philpot, No. 1145). There certainly exists a washed drawing also by Raphael which represents the marriage of Alexander with Roxane. This fine drawing, however, is not to be found at the Albertina in Vienna, but is amongst the collection at Windsor Castle (vol. ii. Raphael’s drawings). This remarkable fact might perhaps be explained thus: Raphael painted, as it appears, his so-called Galathea at the Farnesina, where in the upper storey of the same palace Sodoma was executing his Alexander frescoes. Sodoma may have shown to his friend Raphael his drawing (at Vienna), in red chalk, for the marriage of Alexander, and he, large-hearted as ever, may have modified his sketch. It is in this way that I explain to myself the origin of the Raphael drawing at Windsor. Sodoma in his fresco kept closer to the modified drawing of his friend (at Windsor) than to his own (at Vienna).

Museum, is photographed by Braun under the name of Raphael (No. 94-95).

On the other hand, an excellent, though partly repainted Portrait of a Lady, by Sodoma, goes among the paintings of the Städel Institute, Frankfort (No. 22), under the name of Fra Sebastiano del Piombo.¹

On this occasion we cannot refrain from noticing that the magnificently decorated ceiling of the so-called Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican, was thought so perfect by Raphael himself, that he not only left it as it was, but testified his esteem for Sodoma by introducing his portrait (by the side of his own, and that of his literary adviser, Count Castiglione) in the "Scuola d'Atene."²

Some years ago, basing my judgment on a photograph, I ascribed the "Caritas" in the Berlin Gallery to Balthasar Peruzzi; but on seeing the picture itself I retracted that opinion, for I became convinced that this lovely "Caritas" (No. 109) showed much more the work of Sodoma himself than of his imitator Peruzzi. It seems to me that both the form of hand in the "Caritas" and the type of head in the Putti (though greatly disfigured by

¹ Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 355) also take this female portrait for a work of Piombo, but remark at the same time that it reminded them of Bronzino, *i.e.* of a Tuscan. In this painting I request the special attention of my young friends to the landscape, the formation of the hand, and the almond-shaped eye so characteristic of Sodoma. In England, as elsewhere out of Italy, the works of Sodoma are seldom to be met with. There is in Lord Elcho's collection a fine Tondo, representing the Holy Family with the infant St. John. The collection of Mr. Francis Cook at Richmond contains a poetically conceived representation of St. George fighting the Dragon.

² The man in a white garment and white cap, near Raphael, represents not (as is generally thought) Perugino, who never had anything to do in this room, and was also much older than the man represented here, but Sodoma, who had decorated the ceiling of the room.

restoration), and, moreover, the landscape in the background, reveal altogether the manner of Bazzi.¹

Balthasar Peruzzi, of whom no German collection of pictures has a single specimen that I know of, was for a considerable time an imitator of Sodoma, as anyone can see at a glance by his fine wall-painting at the Ponzetti chapel in S. Maria della Pace. At a later time he was also influenced by Raphael.² Herr Albert Jansen ("Life and Works of the Painter G. A. Bazzi," 1870), remarks very correctly: "Sodoma had a poetic soul, full of glowing and deep feeling, a richly-endowed creative mind, but no inclination for severe, earnest work. Never did man more freely indulge his whims; never did artist live more unconcernedly under the influence of his genius. He cared little for others, and others still less for him. Sodoma therefore never worked as he might have worked, and was esteemed less than he was worth."

After these few remarks on Boltraffio and Giovan Antonio Bazzi, my readers will allow me to dwell a moment on the picture of "Vertumnus and Pomona," because for a long time it has been ascribed to a master of whom not a single *authentic* work has come down to us: I mean Francesco Melzi. In uttering this name I would first of all put the preliminary question: Was there ever, in the true sense of the word, a painter Melzi? In spite

¹ Herr von Kestner of Hanover, a warm friend of Italy and her art, possesses a "Roman Lucretia" by Sodoma, with the same type of head as the "Caritas" at Berlin.

² Proof of such influence is to be found, amongst other pictures of Peruzzi, in his "Presentation of Mary in the Temple" at S. Maria della Pace, Rome; in the cartoon representing the adoration of the Magi, at the National Gallery, London; and the fine drawing representing the same subject in the library of the Castle of Sigmaringen.

of all my researches I have not succeeded in finding an authentic picture of this friend (and partly pupil) of Leonardo da Vinci. Vasari breathes not a syllable about a *painter* of that name, though he says in his life of Leonardo: "Of the said anatomical drawings of Leonardo the greater part is in the hands of Master Francesco di Melzo, a Milanese nobleman, who in Leonardo's time was an exceedingly handsome lad, and had his entire affection, even as he is now (in 1566) a right goodly and gracious senior, and for remembrance keepeth these drawings and sundry papers of Leonardo, &c."

In Vasari's words we find not the slightest allusion to any artistic talent of Melzi. Some ten years later the pompous Lomazzo published his "Trattato della Pittura," in which he compliments Melzi as a "wonderful miniature painter."¹ Now, everyone who is even superficially acquainted with Italian history knows that drawing was at that time part of the regular education of a perfect gentleman.² On the other hand, the Marchese Campori of Modena published, some years ago, a letter from Bendedei, the Ferrarese ambassador at Milan, to his master, Duke Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara, from which we might infer that Melzi really was a painter. The letter is dated 1523, and runs as follows:—"Et perchè ho fatto mentione de la casa de Melzi, aviso a V. Ex. che un

¹ Lomazzo, Trattato, etc. (i. 174): "Secondo che mi ha raccontato il Sig. Francesco Melzi, suo *discepolo*, *grandissimo miniatore*."

² Amongst others, see Dolce's "Dialogo della Pittura," p. 130 (Florence edition, 1735): "E oggidì qui in Venezia Monsignor Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileia, Signor di gran valore e d' infinita bontà; e parimente il dotto gentilomo M. Francesco Morosini, i quali due disegnano e dipingono leggiadramente; altre *una infinita di altri gentiluomini*, che si *dilettano* della pittura; tra i quali v'è il Magnifico M. Alessandro Contarini, non meno ornato di lettere che di altre virtù."

fratello di questo che ha gostrato (*i.e.*, giostrato, jousted in a tournament), fù *creato* (pupil) de Lionardo da Vinci, et herede, et ha molti de' suoi secreti et tutte le sue opinioni, et *dipinge molto ben*, per quanto intendo (*i.e.* by what I hear), et nel suo ragionare mostra d' avere iuditio, et è gentilissimo giovane. L' ho pregato assai volte che el venghi a Ferrara, promettendogli che V. S. il vedrà con buona ciera, et dopo ch' io son venuto l' ho replicato ad un suo Barba (uncle), gentilhommo molto da ben et honorato, ch' è a lui non ho potuto dirlo, perchè sta in Villa per la febbre quartana. Se piacerà a V. Ex. ne farò ancora maggiore istantia. Credo ch' egli habbia quelli libriccini de Lionardo de la Notomia, et de molte altre belle cose. —Di V. Illma et Exma Sa Servo Alberto Bendedei.—Di Milano, 6 de Marzo, 1523.”

Unless I am blinded by a preconceived opinion, this very letter of a contemporary plainly suggests that Melzi painted indeed, but only as an amateur. But presently out of Lomazzo's miniaturist and Bendedei's amateur, up springs the *painter* Melzi,¹ and he being a nobleman besides, would of course be presented to us as the most eminent of Leonardo's pupils. Then came the *collectors*, hunting for the works of this rare master, and, ere long, to meet the demand, appeared also the *forgers*, who put the name of Melzi under any picture they pleased that was of

¹ Giannambrogio Mazzenta, in the last years of the sixteenth century, remarks in a note on that Leonardo Codex, which was afterwards used for the first edition of the “Trattato della Pittura:” “Francesco Melzo, suo scolare ed erede, erasi avvicinato più che altro alla maniera del Vinci; lavorò poco, perch' era ricco, ma i suoi quadri sono ben finiti e sovente confondonsi coi lavori del maestro.” Mazzenta, however, specifies none of these works of Melzo. See “Amoretti, Memorie storiche sulla vita di Lionardo da Vinci,” 1804 (p. 130).

the Milanese-Lombard school, and of the first half of the sixteenth century. Several of these forgeries have come under my notice; one of them, perhaps the clumsiest of all, is in the house of Duke Lodovico Melzi d'Eril at Milan. It is a half-length portrait of a young man with a parrot in his right hand, and bears the signature, "FR. MELZIVS," a very stupid work by some Florentine of the latter half of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, a small drawing in red chalk, exhibited in the Ambrosiana among the drawings of Leonardo, might be of great importance to the solution of our question. We see in profile the bald head of an elderly man, and read at the top of the page: "1510 a di 14 Augusto, cavata de relevo," consequently copied from a bust—a proof that Melzi at that time did not yet draw from nature, and was still but a beginner. At the bottom of the page are the words, "Francescho da Melzo de anni 17," so that Melzi was born in 1493. This head is thoroughly Leonardesque, both as to character and in the form of the ear. It seems likely, therefore, that Melzi, then seventeen years old, copied the head, perhaps from a model in wax by Leonardo, which may be alluded to in the "per cavata de rilievo." And the corrections made in the position of the ear and in the outlines suggest that the master Leonardo may have had his hand in the business. The writing has the characteristics of the first half of the sixteenth century.¹

¹ Leonardo himself in his Will calls Melzi "Messer Francesco":—"Item, the said testator doth will and devise to Master Francesco da Melzo, noble of Milan, in consideration of his loving services, all his books, whereof at present the testator is possessed, and all the drawings that pertain to the art of painting. . . . Item, the testator wills and bequeaths to the aforesaid Messer Francesco Melzo, presente et acceptante, the residue of his pension (the pension bestowed on

The "Vertumnus and Pomona," at the Berlin Gallery (No. 222) has not the character of a mere dilettante's work, but rather indicates that of a painter by profession. Mons. A. J. Rio (as above, 200), and also director Julius Meyer, maintain that the original drawing for this picture is at Windsor. I have searched there, but had not the luck to find it. To which pupil or imitator of Leonardo are we then to ascribe this "Vertumnus and Pomona," if we will not acknowledge Francesco Melzi as its author? This question I am, unfortunately, not able to answer with any degree of confidence.

The pictures by *Bernardino Luini* and *Gaudenzio Ferrari* at the Berlin Gallery were not accessible to the public during my visit. I shall therefore restrict myself to adding a few details to the information given in the catalogue on the lives of these two chief representatives of the Lombard-Milanese School.

According to Argellati ("Script. Mediol.," ii. 816), Bernardino was the son of Giovanni Lutero, of Luino, a village on the Lago Maggiore. We are still in the dark about the year of his birth; but, anyhow, instead of the commonly-accepted year 1470, I would place it in the interval between 1475 and 1480. I think Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 43) are wrong in making Luini a pupil of Leonardo. His large picture, the "Lamentation

Leonardo by Francis I.), et Summa de danari qual a lui (Leonardo) sono debiti del passato fino al di della sua morte per il Tesaurario general M. Johan Sapin . . . et similmente el dona et concede al dicto de Melze tucti et ciascheduni suoi vestimenti quali ha al presente ne lo dicto loco de Cloux, tam per remuneratione di boni et grati servitii a lui facti, che per li suoi salarii, vacationi et fatiche ch'el potrà avere circa la executione del presente Testamento . . . 23 April, 1518." Francesco Melzi, in his letter to Leonardo's brother at Florence, calls the master "mio quanto optimo patre."

over Christ,"¹ in the choir of S. Maria della Passione at Milan, which might well be the earliest of his known works (of about 1505—10), exhibits him still as a thoroughly Lombard master, without the slightest trace of Leonardine influence, but plainly betraying the school of Ambrogio Borgognone, together with sundry influences of Bramantino.²

It is when we come to his second manner (about 1510—20) that the imitation of Leonardo shows itself in his works.³

In his third or "blond" manner, as it is called (1520—29), Luini comes out in the fulness and freedom of his independence. His best works are doubtless of this period, *e.g.*, the cycle of frescoes in the Monastero Maggiore,

¹ At the top of this interesting picture we see the risen Saviour between two angels; these three figures, as also the two bishops in the body of the picture, and still more the landscape, remind us very clearly of Borgognone; then one of the Marys, the one with folded hands and a pink kerchief on her head, recalls Bramantino. The two apostles, Peter and Paul, at the extreme ends of the Predella, look as if painted by Gaudenzio Ferrari.

² Until a short time ago Bramantino's Putto, painted *al fresco* (No. 7 of the Brera Gallery), and his "St. Martin" (No. 8), passed for works of Luini; and, *per contra*, Luini's two giants (Hercules and Atlas painted grey in grey, in the cortile of the Palazzo Melzi, Borgonuovo, Milan), are ascribed to Bramantino. In the same way the small "Pietà" in the house Marietti (Piazza S. Sepolcro) at Milan, is generally taken for a Bramantino, whilst I do not hesitate for a moment to assign this interesting little picture to the youth of Luini. The frescoes painted for the Convent delle Vetere, now in the Brera, may also be of the master's early (Borgognonesque) period (No. 23, "Resurrection of Christ;" No. 39, "Thomas Aquinas," etc.).

³ I assign to this epoch, for instance, the "Virgin and Child" in the Brera (No. 89); "Modestia e Vanità," Sciarra Colonna, Rome; the large "Holy Family" in the Ambrosiana; the "Virgin and Child, with Saints Catherine and Barbara," at the Town Gallery of Pesth (No. 173); the "Madonna" at the Louvre, etc.

Milan; "Mary with the Child," at the widow Arconati-Visconti's, Milan; the glorious polyptych in the parish church of Legnano; the frescoes at Saronno; the three pictures in Como Cathedral; the frescoes at Lugano.

After the year 1529 we lose all trace of Luini; he may therefore have died about that time.¹ The greatest part of his pictures are not signed; I know only four that bear his name, and all four belong to this his last period.² According to Lomazzo, both Luini and his rival Gaudenzio Ferrari cultivated poetry as well as painting.³

¹ If we may believe the Capuchin monk F. Salvatore, there is a wall-painting at the Capuchin convent of S. Vittore all' Olmo, Milan, of the year 1547, begun by Bernardino and finished by his son Anselio. Did the good padre invent the names of the father and the son to enhance the value of the picture at his convent? See "*Archivio Storico Lombardi*," foot-note 3, vol. ii. (269).

² Bernardino Luini left Milan at the end of 1523 to settle at Legnano, where he stayed about a year, and painted amongst other things the magnificent polyptych just mentioned. The contract for this, his principal work, was drawn up by the notary "l'Isolano" in 1523, and signed by the respective parties in the archbishop's palace at Milan. A copy of this contract is preserved in the archives of the parish church of Legnano. In 1525 Luini completed his frescoes at Saronno; in the following year he worked at Como, whence he made an excursion to Ponte in the Valteline, and there painted on the wall over the church-door the beautiful lunette of "Mary and St. Martin." Finally, in 1528 and 1529, he executed his frescoes at Lugano.

³ Drawings by Luini are scarce. Like Gaudenzio Ferrari, he used black chalk and gypsum, as well as the pen and sepia. I will here mention a few of them. The Ambrosiana at Milan possesses several studies of children in Indian-ink, and a "St. Tobias before his Father," drawn in black chalk and heightened with gypsum; the Academy of Venice, an "Expulsion from Paradise," black chalk (Perini, 199); the collection of the Louvre, two very beautiful heads of children on yellow-grounded paper (Nos. 237 and 238 of the catalogue), quite characteristic of Luini, though M. Reiset seems to doubt their genuineness; lastly, the Albertina at Vienna may boast of possessing a good drawing of the master in its "Christ Among the Doctors" (No. 75). This is a study

Lomazzo, who as a boy may have known *Gaudenzio Ferrari* in his old age, and, at all events, as a pupil of one of his pupils, was in a good way to know all about his artistic training, represents him first as a pupil of Scotto at Milan, and then of Bernardino Luini. To the first statement we can say neither yes nor no, as no other writer makes mention of Scotto, and we know of no authentic work of his; but it seems quite likely that Luini at a certain period had a great influence on Gaudenzio, his junior by some six or eight years. We have evidence of this, not only in the seated female figure with the two Putti, which among the drawings at the Venetian Academy is ascribed to Luini (Perini, No. 198), though it is by Gaudenzio; but quite as much also in the frescoes painted for the church S. Maria della Pace at Milan, now exhibited in the Brera Gallery under the name of Luini, and numbered 1, 4, 40, 41 ("Presentation in the Temple"), 62 ("Nurture of Mary"), 67 ("Dream of St. Joseph"). Though ascribed in the Brera Catalogue to B. Luini, the forms, the types of the head, and the freer handling of the brush, point rather to Gaudenzio and his school.¹

An old tradition credits Ferrari with a precocity of talent; having regard to this, and still more to certain

for Luini's celebrated picture at the National Gallery, London. Among the valuable drawings in the collection of Mr. Malcolm of Poltalloch, London, there is the coloured portrait of Biagio Arcimboldi, bearing the signature "Bernardino Lovino fa." The Museum of Christ Church College, Oxford, also contains a genuine drawing of his, under the false name of Leonardo da Vinci. It is executed in black chalk and gypsum.

¹ This cycle of frescoes may perhaps have been executed by an able assistant from Gaudenzio's cartoons. They are on no account to be ascribed to Luini. Several other frescoes by the same hand, but still under the name of Luini, are in the Museo Archeologico of the Brera, and have likewise come from S. Maria della Pace.

habits that clung to him all his life, and which remind us of Macrino d'Alba and the Oldoni of Vercelli, it seems to me not improbable that he had already acquired the first rudiments of his art at Vercelli, before coming to Milan; not indeed, as Bordiga and other of his followers would have us believe, from the weak-minded Girolamo Giovenone, who was from six to eight years his junior,¹ but more likely from Macrino d'Alba.² At Milan, however, Gaudenzio must have visited, not only the studios of Scotto and Luini, but also that of Bramantino. This master's influence on him is, I think, apparent in his four little panel pictures (Nos. 52, 53, 57, and 58) at the Turin Gallery, and in the habit (which he retained almost all his life) of throwing the light on his figures from below, after the manner of Bramantino.³

¹ Prof. Colombo, of Moncalieri, rightly considers Gio. Giovenone to have been younger than Gaudenzio; he places his birth in the year 1491 ("Vita e opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari, per Giuseppe Colombo," 1881, p. 9).

² Gaudenzio may probably have taken from Macrino d'Alba (who in his turn, had borrowed it from Ambrogio Borgognone) the low, broad canopy over his Madonnas, the type of head in his Apostle Paul (No. 33 in the Turin Gallery, of the year 1506), as well as other things. The earliest known picture by Girolamo Giovenone, is dated 1514, and is to be found in the Turin Gallery, No. 43. In his later period he imitated Gaudenzio Ferrari, as anyone can see by his painting in Mortara church, there ascribed to Gaudenzio. Two other pictures of Giovenone's are also attributed to Gaudenzio; both are in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia, one representing four Fathers of the Church, the other eight Saints bearing the cross.

³ To give an instance accessible to all, there is in the Uffizi collection at Florence a washed drawing, of Gaudenzio's middle period (1520—1525), a study for his large wall-painting "The Crucifixion," in the well-known chapel at Varallo. At Florence this drawing is curiously enough ascribed to Giorgione, and is photographed as such by Philpot, No. 1350.

In 1508 Gaudenzio, then about twenty-four years old, was commissioned to paint a picture for a church at Vercelli. A copy of the contract is possessed by Padre Bruzza at Rome.¹ In this document Gaudenzio is called Gaudentius de Vincio de Varali. Vinci was the name of his mother's family; it is a surname that still holds its ground in the Valduggia. And that explains why Gaudenzio, in 1511, still signs himself Gaudentius Vincius on his magnificent triptych in the church of Arona (G. Colombo's "Vita," p. 49). In a document of 1514 he is for the first time called Gaudentius de Ferariis Vallis Sicide (Val Sesia); see Colombo, p. 296. In the same year, 1508, he married his first wife, by whom he had two children.

If I mistake not, it was Federico Zuccari that first set the fable afloat, that Gaudenzio studied for some time under Perugino at Perugia, together with Raphael, therefore between 1500 and 1508.² This again seems to me one of those bare assertions devoid of all foundation, with

¹ G. Colombo's "Vita," pp. 286 and 288.

² Baldinucci, and then the Perugians Orsini and Mezzanotte, repeat it after Zuccari; next, Baron Rumohr (vol. viii. p. 88) explains to us, that Gaudenzio Ferrari, as well as E. Garofalo, learned the new technic of painting from Raphael and Michel Angelo (consequently after 1514), and so introduced it into Lombardy! But Passavant goes farther, and remarks: "*Raffael se lia encore vers 1502 avec l'aimable et habile (!) Gaudenzio Ferrari de Valduggia. Leur amitié devint si étroite que Gaudenzio accompagna Raffael à Rome, et, sauf de rares intervalles, il resta son inséparable compagnon.*" That is how art history was written only forty years ago. Now-a-days we at least know from written documents, that Gaudenzio Ferrari passed his life exclusively in Lombardy, where nearly all his works are still to be found; at Vercelli, at Milan, at Turin, at Novara, and all up the Valsesia as far as Varallo (Colombo's "Vita," p. 302). Without authentic proofs we have no right to assume that Gaudenzio ever lived for any length of time in Tuscany, or at Perugia, or at Rome. And in the whole of Central Italy we should look in vain for any works of his. Vasari (in his life of Garofalo) says:

which the history of Italian painting is so richly interlarded. The influence of Perugino or of Raphael is not more and not less perceptible in Ferrari's paintings than in those of nearly all the great masters of that happy period, generally called the golden age of Italian art, during which Gaudenzio and Luini hold much the same place in their own school, the Milanese, as Raphael does in the Umbrian, Cavazzola and Carotto in the Veronese, Garofalo and Dosso in the Ferrarese, and Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto in the Florentine.

Gaudenzio, it is true, has not the grace of Luini, neither are his works so perfect in execution as those of his rival; but take him for all in all, as regards inventive genius, dramatic life, and picturesqueness, he stands far above Luini. In his hot haste Ferrari often loses his balance, and becomes quaint and affected; many of his larger compositions, too, are overcrowded with figures; but in his best works he is inferior to very few of his contemporaries, and occasionally, as in some of those groups of men and women in the great "Crucifixion" at Varallo, he might challenge a comparison with Raphael himself.

The drawings of this great but not sufficiently known and appreciated master are mostly executed on the method introduced into the Lombard schools by Vincenzo Foppa, that is, in black chalk and gypsum on blue-grounded paper; later in life he sometimes used Indian-ink. His finest drawings are to be found in the Royal Library at Turin; the Ambrosiana also possesses several, two or three of which, set by the side of Bramantino's drawings,

"Gaudenzio Ferrari, a painter of the Milanese, that was reputed a skilful master while he lived, painted at S. Celso," etc.; but neither he nor Lomazzo hints at any connection between him and Perugino or Raphael.

would show more convincingly than all discussion the partial descent of Gaudenzio as an artist from Bartolommeo Suardi, called Bramantino.¹

CONCLUSION.

And now let these Critical Studies, with all their deficiencies, come to an end; perhaps they have already tired out the patience of my young friends. In a time like ours, when the pulse of life beats faster with the thousand fascinations and excitements which this beautiful world affords, it was no doubt a double sin in me to expect a youthful mind, aspiring to the highest enjoyments of art, to fritter his time on such prosaic, unæsthetic first-studies, dealing with mere material form, at the risk of cooling, if not quenching, his enthusiasm for "real high art."

On the other hand, there is consolation in the firm conviction, ripened by long experience, that without these studies of form and detail, our so-called science of art will never be more than a building reared on sand.

The attire in which these Critical Essays come before the public is, alas! so careless as to be almost inadmissible; and perhaps I am quite as conscious of it as any of my indulgent readers. But the plain truth is, I am not a literary

¹ A few such drawings by Gaudenzio are in the collection of the Uffizi; for instance, Mary in a Glory of Angels (No. 198), and Mary with the Child and Two Angels (No. 238), under the false name of Giacomo Francia. There is no picture by Gaudenzio in the National Gallery, London. One of the finest panel-pictures he ever executed is at Dorchester House, London, in the collection of Mr. Holford. It represents the Holy Family with Cardinal Taverna of Milan in adoration. Sir Henry Layard's collection, so rich in excellent Italian pictures, contains an Annunciation by Gaudenzio, and also a Madonna-picture by Bernardino Luini.

man, and, with the best will in the world, I have not managed to turn out one of your majestic, well-rounded, awe-inspiring paragraphs. And if I had succeeded, why, my plain, unpretending, matter-of-fact thoughts must have cut a ludicrous figure in so gorgeous a garb; for, what says the proverb? "Only gems deserve to be set in gold."

I publish these Critical Studies solely with the hope of encouraging young and as yet unprejudiced students, who visit Italy for the purpose of studying Italian art, to make an independent and searching inspection of the actual *works* of the masters; and also with the purpose of stimulating them not to take the matter too easily, like those who, after three or four flying visits to the Peninsula, find they "know all about Italian art." It is easy enough to æstheticize and philosophize about art, without taking the slightest notice of the *works* of art; and so long as these well-meant exercitations are only looked upon as an intellectual pastime, well and good; though one would think the mind of man might find some more wholesome nutriment than wind.

I can see that many of the thoughts hastily thrown off in these Studies require fuller development; only that course would have led me too far aside from my immediate aim. Thus, where I speak of naturally artistic and non-artistic races, I ought to have sketched out a sort of art-geography, so as to convince my readers of the literal truth of my thesis. It was only by utterly ignoring this doctrine, that it could have occurred to anyone to make, for instance, Niccolò Pisano suddenly emerge out of a tribe which had always shown itself destitute of the art-instinct.¹

¹ See E. Dobbert, "On the Style of Niccola Pisano," and that meritorious little book, "Italian Studies," by H. Hettner, pp. 3—10.

And where in Apulia could Pisano have found an outlet for his industry? The Neapolitan races have never shown a feeling for bounded form, for contour; nowhere among them do we find a native school of painting or of sculpture. Per contra, they have given Italy her greatest musicians and philosophers.

Again, my division of art-history into several periods, organically grown out of each other, might well have been set before the reader with more method and precision.

I am well aware of all these and many other defects. Should these my humble Critical Studies nevertheless find favour with young students of art, I shall hope that I do not this day take leave of them for ever.





INDEX.

- A** GOSTINO da Caversegno, 180.
Albani, 58.
Albertinelli, 74, 75.
Altichiero, 397.
Amadeo, 6, note 2, 421.
Amalteus, 52.
Andrea del Sarto, 203.
Angelo di Baldassare, 261.
Antonello da Messina, 104, note, 140,
141, 376-389.
Antonio da Ferrara, 104, note.
Antonio da Messina, 387, note 1.
Antonio da Murano, 357.
Aragonese, *see* Ragonese.
Aspertini, 235, 244.
- Badili, 261.
Bagnacavallo, *see* Ramenghi.
Balducci, Matteo, 349.
Barbari, Jacopo de', *see* Jacopo.
Bartolomeo (Venetian sculptor), 5.
Bartolomeo da Murano, 358, 359.
Bartolomeo, Fra, della Gatta, 73, 74,
98, 224.
Bartolomeo, Veneto, 138.
Basaiti, 360.
- Beccafumi, 61, 99.
Bellini, Gentile, 10, note, 139.
Bellini, Giovanni, 8, 9, 10, 41, 110,
137, 214, 215, 361-363.
Bellini, Jacopo, 6, 357.
Bellunello, Andrea, 23.
Beltraffio, *see* Boltraffio.
Bellotto, 197.
Bembo, Benedetto, 187.
Bembo, Bonifazio, 187, 410.
Bembo, Giov. Franc., 405, note 1.
Benaglio, 12.
Bevilacqua, 199, 411, 415.
Bianchi, 121, 238-240.
Bicci, 261.
Bissolo, 373.
Boccaccino, Bartolomeo, 60.
Boccacino, Boccaccio, 60.
Boltraffio, 413, 425-428.
Bonfigli, 257, 261.
Bonifazi, 17, 51.
Bonifazio (Veronese), senior, 28, 31,
184-194.
Bonifazio (Veronese), junior, 28, 184-
194.
Bonifazio, Veneziano, 178, 184-194.

- Bono, 11.
 Bonsignori, 103, note 1.
 Bordone, 45, 51, 195.
 Borgognone, 198, 411, 415, 419-421.
 Boselli, 4.
 Botticelli, 201, 202, 224, 235, 236, 342.
 Bramante, 249.
 Bramantino, 6, note 2, 65, 250, 411, 415, 436, note 2.
 Brescianino, Andrea del, 74.
 Bronzino, 350.
 Bugatto, 410.
 Buonconsiglio, 365, note 1.
 Buttinone, 410, 415-418.

 Calderari, 23, 188, note 1.
 Calendario, 5.
 Caliari, Carletto, and Gabriel, 197.
 Callisto da Lodi, 405, note 1.
 Cambiaso, Luca, 225.
 Camelo, 10, note.
 Campagnola, Dom., 196, 216, 222.
 Canaletto, 197.
 Caporale, Bart., 261.
 Caprioli, Dom., 55.
 Caravaggio, Michelangelo da, Polidoro da, and Prato da, *see under* M. and P.
 Cariani, Giov., 5, 17, 31, 152, 153, 192, 193, 409.
 Carlevaris, Luca, 197.
 Carnevali, Fra, 226, 250.
 Carotto, 51, 52, 53, 89, 103, note 1, 395, note 1.
 Carpaccio, 214, 375.
 Carpi, Gir., 115, 119, 120.
 Carracci, 58, 89.
 Castagno, Andrea del, 102, 205.
 Castiglione, 227.
 Catena, 150, 151, 179, note, 372.
 Cavazzola, 53, 54.
 Cavedone, 58.

 Cesare da Sesto, 62, 225, 412, note 1, 413.
 Chiodarolo, 235.
 Cima da Conegliano, 368.
 Civerchio, 398, note 3, 411.
 Colantonio, 379.
 Conti, Bernardino de', 62, 411, 413, 421-425.
 Correggio, 36, 37, 38, note 1, 58, 59, 120-136, 166, 220.
 Cossa, 57, 103, 106-109.
 Costa, 57, 106-109, 233-240.
 Credi, Lorenzo di, 73, 206-209, 218, 219, 224, 355.
 Crivelli, Carlo, 102.

 Dario, 102, 369, note 1.
 Diana, 24.
 Domenico di Bartolo, 260.
 Domenichino, 58.
 Dosso, Battista, 115, 116, 119.
 Dosso Dossi, 6, 114-120, 123, 241, 242.
 Dürer, 35, 104, note, 365.

 Ercole, Grandi, *see* Grandi.
 Ercole, Roberti, *see* Grandi.
 Eusebio da San Giorgio, 313, 314.
 Eyck, van, 376, 377.

 Falconetto, 250.
 Farinato, Paolo, 27, 223.
 Fasolo, Bernardino, 197, 412.
 Fasolo, Giovan Antonio, 197.
 Fasolo Lorenzo, 412.
 Ferramola, 406, note.
 Ferrari, 412.
 Ferrari, Defendente, 413.
 Ferrari, Gaudenzio, 51, 220, 435, 438-442.
 Feti, 59.
 Fiesole, *see* Giovanni da Fiesole.

- Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, 80, 262, 263.
 Flor, De, 356.
 Florigerio, 23, 24.
 Foppa, 6, note 2, 51, 102, 398, 410, 411, 418.
 Francia, Francesco, 56, 57, 136, 234, 243, 244.
 Francia, Giacomo and Giulio, 243, 245.
 Franciabigio, 349.
 Francucci, 58, 247.
 Galassi, 104, note.
 Galeazzi, 403, note 1.
 Galizzi, 17.
 Gambara, 405, note 1.
 Garofalo, 56, 114-120, 123, 241, 242.
 Gavazzi, 4.
 Genga, Gir., 251.
 Gentile da Fabriano, 5, 11, note 1, 255, 361, note, 397.
 Ghirlandajo, Domenico, 72, 89, 344.
 Ghirlandajo, Ridolfo del, *see* Ridolfo.
 Giambellini, *see* Bellini, Giovanni.
 Giampietrino, 413.
 Giolfino, 52, 103, note 1.
 Giorgione, 12, 40-42, 51, 151-168, 371.
 Giotto, 75, 260.
 Giovanni da Fiesole, 70, 216.
 Girolamo dai Libri, 375, note 2, 395, 396.
 Girolamo da Treviso, 369.
 Giovenone, 413.
 Giulio Romano, 52, 212.
 Gozzoli, B., 259, 261.
 Granacci, 74, 344.
 Grandi, Ercole Roberti, 106-113.
 Grandi, Ercole di Giulio Cesare, 107, 113, 237.
 Grassi, Giov. Batt., 19.
 Grassi, Girol., 23.
 Guercino, 58.
 Guido da Siena, 260.
 Guido Reni, 58.
 Jacopello de Bonomo, 356, note 1.
 Jacopo de' Barbari, 141-150, 224.
 Johannes Alemanus, 5.
 Johannes de Boccatis, 261.
 Leonardo da San Daniele, 23.
 Leonardo da Vinci, 8, 37, 61-62, 87-95, 124, 125, 206-210, 217-219, 223, 411.
 Leopardi, 6.
 Liberale, 6, 51, 88, 102, 395, note 1.
 Lippi, Filippino, 72, 78, 216, 235, 236, 342.
 Lippi, Filippo, 70-72, 102, 235, 341.
 Lodi, Callisto, *see* Callisto.
 Lodovico di Angelo, 261.
 Lomazzo, 51.
 Lombardi, 6, 147.
 Longhi, Luca, 248, 252.
 Longhi, Pietro, 198.
 Lorenzo di Credi, *see* Credi.
 Lotto, 29-40, 124, 180, 181, 371, 372.
 Luigi di Francesco Tinghi, 260.
 Luini, Aurelio, 225.
 Luini, Bern., 62, 63, 414, 435-438.
 Macrino d'Alba, 412.
 Magnaseo, 199.
 Magni, Cesare, 69, 412.
 Mainardi, 344.
 Mansueti, 10.
 Mantegna, 8, 11, 87, 102, 103, 140, 362-367, 391, 392.
 Marchesi, of Cotignola, 247.
 Marco d'Oggionno, 413.
 Marconi, Rocco, 54, 195.
 Martini, 23.
 Marziale, 361.

- Massegne, 5.
 Mazzola, Filippo, 418.
 Mazzolino, 56, 114, 240, 241.
 Melloni, 405, note 1.
 Melozzo da Forlì, 248, 249.
 Melzi, 431-435.
 Meo di Guido, 260.
 Messina, *see under* Antonello and Pietro da Messina.
 Miani, 23.
 Michelangelo Buonarroti, 125, 126.
 Michelangelo da Caravaggio, 199.
 Michele da Verona, 54.
 Michelino, 410.
 Mombello, 403, note 1.
 Montagna, Bart., 20, 99, 393.
 Montorfano, Giov. da, 410.
 Monverde, 23.
 Morando, *see* Cavazzola.
 Moretti, Cristoforo, 410.
 Moretto, 27, 47-50, 165, 169-171, 399-403.
 Morone, 51, 395, 396.
 Moroni, 27, 47-51, 178, 409, 410.
 Morto da Feltre, 18.
 Murano, *see* Antonio and Bartolomeo da M.
 Muziano, Girolomo, 405, note 1.

 Nelli, Ottaviano, 254.
 Nelli, Plautilla, 223.
 Niccolo (Alunno) da Foligno, 257-259.
 Nuzi, Alegretto, 254.

 Oggionno, *see under* Marco d'O.
 Oldoni, 412, 413.

 Palma, Antonio, 194.
 Palma, Giacomo, 4, 194.
 Palma, il Giovane, 194.
 Palma Vecchio, 5, 13-17, 24-31, 45, 182, 183, 373. 406.

 Palmezzano, Maroo, 248.
 Panetti, 106, 240, 241.
 Paolino da Pistoja, 99.
 Paolo Veronese, 196, 223.
 Pellegrino da San Daniele, 18, 23.
 Pennachi, 368-370.
 Perugino, 76, 77, 287-291, 310, 311, 313, 315, 327, 328, 335, 336.
 Peruzzi, 61, 219, 245, 250, 431.
 Pesellino, 224.
 Pesello, 343.
 Piazza, 405, note 1.
 Pier di Cosimo, 200, 201, 343.
 Piero della Francesca, 102, 226, 260.
 Pietro da Messina, 388, 389.
 Pietro Paolo da Todi, 227.
 Pinturicchio, 210, 264-285, 313, 316, 326-329.
 Pisanello, 5, 11, 255, 357, note, 395, note 1.
 Polidoro, Veneziano, 177.
 Pollajuolo, Antonio del, 90-97, 102, 282, 284, 351-353.
 Pollajuolo, Piero, 351-353.
 Ponzoni, 410.
 Pordenone, 18, 21, 23, 215, 373, note 1.
 Prandino, 397.
 Prato, Fr. da Caravaggio, 195, 405, note 1.
 Predis, Ambrogio, 413-415.
 Previtali, 5, 65, note 2, 178-181.

 Ramenghi da Bagneavallo, 137, 246.
 Raphael, 57, 80-85, 97, 98, 210, 221, 270-274, 282, 285, 286, 309-317, 319-326, 328-340, 429.
 Raffaelino del Garbo, 77, 220, 343.
 Ragonese, Sebastian, 405, note 1.
 Reni Guido, *see* Guido R.
 Richini, 403, note 1.
 Riccio, Antonio, 6.
 Riccio, Domenico, 222.

- Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo, 212, 344-348.
 Roger van der Weyden, 255.
 Romanino, Hieronymus, 21, 403-407.
 Rondinelli, Niccolo, 9, note 1.
 Roselli, Cosimo, 343.

 Sacchi, 69.
 Salaino, 413.
 Sanseverino, G. and L. da, 255.
 Santa Croce, Francesco Rizo da, 5, 373.
 Santa Croce, Girol. da, 5, 27, 374.
 Santa Croce, Pietro Paolo, 5, 375.
 Santi, Giov., 251.
 Savoldo, 407, 408.
 Schedone, Bartolomeo, 59, 60.
 Schiavone, Andrea, 191, note.
 Schiavone, Gregorio, 390, 391.
 Scipione of Averara, 4.
 Sebastian (Luciani) del Piombo, 133, 134.
 Seccante, 23.
 Signorelli, 200, 217, 224.
 Simone da Pesaro, 58.
 Sodoma, 61, 97, 413, 428-431.
 Sogliani, 99.
 Solario, Andrea, 6, note 2, 64-69, 414.
 Solario, Antonio, 69.
 Solario, Cristoforo, 6, note 2, 63, 65, note 1.
 Spagna, 80, 314, 315.
 Squarcione, 105, 368, 369.

 Stefano of Ferrara, 106.
 Stefano da Zevio, 27, 357, note.
 Suardi, *see* Bramantino.

 Taddeo di Bartolo, 257, 260.
 Tamarozzo, 246.
 Tiarini, 58.
 Tintoretto, 194.
 Titian, 25, note 1, 40-46, 51, 159, 167, 171-177, 215, 216, 222.
 Tolmezzo Dom. and Gian. Francesco da, 23.
 Toto, 348.
 Torbido, 51-53.
 Tura, 103, 106, 232, 233, 237, 238.

 Uccello, Paolo, 260.

 Veronese, *see* Paolo Veronese.
 Veronese School, 12.
 Verrocchio, 73, 89, 353-355.
 Viti, Timoteo, 251, 252, 291-310, 317-319, 340.
 Vittore di Matteo, 10, note.
 Vivarini, 6, 102, 261.
 Vivarini, Alvise, 360.
 Vivarini, Bartolomeo, 366.

 Zavattari, 410.
 Zenale, 410, 415-419.
 Zenone, 410.
 Zoppo, 57, 243.

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00771 4427

